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THE UNFINISHED TASK OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

By ROBERT E. SPEER

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JAMES SPRUNT LECTURES 1926

Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia.

THE UNFINISHED TASK OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

By

ROBERT E. SPEER

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FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY

New York: 158 Fifth Avenue
Chicago: 17 North Wabash Ave.
London: 21 Paternoster Square
Edinburgh: 75 Princes Street

Preface

THE eight chapters composing this volume are the lectures delivered on the Sprunt Foundation at the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, in January, 1926. They are an attempt to set forth some of the present-day facts and problems of the foreign missionary enterprise. They are only a partial attempt. No effort has been made in them to deal with the present situation in Africa or in eastern Asia. The limits of the course made some selection necessary and conditions in eastern Asia are now changing so fast that it seemed best to pass over the problems there and especially in China, until the atmosphere shall have cleared. There are two current views of foreign missions from which these lectures are intended to be a dissent, first that the enterprise of foreign missions is immune from criticism or change and second that it has fulfilled its course and come to its end. It is maintained here that the work of foreign missions is not yet done but that it must be done with a surer purpose and a richer hope.

R. E. S.

New York, N. Y.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
OCT 15 1962

THE JAMES SPRUNT LECTURES

IN nineteen hundred and eleven Mr. James Sprunt of Wilmington, North Carolina, gave to the Trustees of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia the sum of thirty thousand dollars, since increased by his generosity to fifty thousand dollars, for the purpose of establishing a perpetual lectureship, which would enable the institution to secure from time to time the services of distinguished ministers and authoritative scholars, outside the regular Faculty, as special lecturers on subjects connected with various departments of Christian thought and Christian work. The lecturers are chosen by the Faculty of the Seminary and a committee of the Board of Trustees, and the lectures are published after their delivery in accordance with a contract between the lecturer and these representatives of the institution. The fifteenth series of lectures on this foundation is presented in this volume.

W. W. MOORE.

President Union Theological Seminary in Virginia.

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LECTURE I

FOREIGN MISSIONS, AN ENTERPRISE OF HOPE AND DUTY

CHRISTIAN thought and experience have from the beginning been construed in terms of faith, and now and again, with more or less adequacy, they have been re-conceived in terms of love, but it still remains for some one to construe them in terms of hope. This long neglect of the rightful place of hope in our Christian belief is the more strange when one remembers that whichever way we read the trilogy of St. Paul, hope is given a superior place. If that trilogy is an ascending series, then evidently St. Paul places hope above faith. If it is a descending series, then equally obviously he places hope above love. As a matter of fact, beyond and behind both faith and love lies hope. "Faith is the substance of things hoped for" and love is only the will to live and the willingness to die for the objects of one's hope. It will be a great day when some one is set free by the Spirit of God to conceive of hope as hope is set before us in the New Testament.

Although other Christian enterprises have slighted it, the missionary enterprise has not; for the missionary enterprise rests upon the great Christian ideal of hope. It was the outstanding principle with our Lord. Clearly it controlled His method of work and possessed His own mind and spirit. His way of achieving the miracles of character which He achieved was by inspiring in the hearts of men the hope that they

might be that which He held out before them, and by His power fulfilling their hope. A poor lame man who had never walked, lying in his helplessness on his pallet, gains from the encouragement of Christ the hope that all this must pass and that he may be free, and under the inspiration of that hope he arises at the call of Christ and walks. One likes to put himself back in the place of the men and women across whose pathway our Lord passed, flinging into their discouraged lives the boundless expectation of the hopes that He awakened. Here was this earnest man by the Sea of Galilee, more keenly aware of his weaknesses than any of his enemies or his friends, knowing well the reputation that he bore all around the sea for vacillation and fickleness and unreliability, to whom that great day Jesus spoke saying, "Thou hast been called Simon. Come with me and I will turn thee into rock." One is sure that a great deal that Jesus achieved He achieved because He was able to give this deathless hope to the hearts of those to whom He spoke. His method of transformation was simply to take men and women into His group, there to persuade them that those things were possible in whose possibility they had never believed and by His miracle-working love to change them.

We are familiar with Jerome K. Jerome's story, "The Passing of the Third Floor Back." It is the tale of a second-class boarding house in London into which the flotsam and jetsam of human life had been gathered, men and women who have tried to renew their old ambitions but without reality. Into that company one day a strange young man came, odder in spirit and character than any one whom these folk had known. He persisted in taking each of them at

his or her own highest valuation, in seeing in them capacities in which, though they pretended they still believed in them, they had no longer any faith. He believed that those were beautiful who wished they were, that those were sincere and kind who were not, but who regretted that they had lost those characters; and little by little, by the spell of his hope in them, he won them to the character in which he believed. And when he went, he left behind him a transformed company who had been made over by the richness of the hope he had for them. So and far more so, wrought Christ. Hope filled His mind and shaped His method. So He lived and dealt with a world which perpetually disappointed Him. "He came unto His own and His own received Him not." Still He did not go away, but persisted in the confidence that, whatever the outcome of those three years of His earthly ministry, His great project simply could not fail. We recall the great passage in Horace Bushnell's "The Character of Jesus," in which he singles out Christ's impossible hope against such undocile material, the enduring belief that the thing He had come to effect would still be done and that He, forsaken and crucified, was the Saviour of men and would be the King and Lord of the world, as one of the evidences of Jesus' deity, making it impossible to classify Him with men.

And yet, oddly enough, our Lord used the word "hope" but once (Luke 6: 34, R. V.). But though the word "hope" occurs only in this one passage, the idea and the principle of hope controlled all His mode of action, His way of achieving results and the peaceful and restful spirit of His life.

When one turns from Him to the rest of the New Testament the word is found again and again. How

fully the idea and the sense of it alike fill the work, mind and spirit of St. Paul! Ramsay speaks of the bold way in which Paul used to claim great areas for Christ, when he had really won but a few converts there. He speaks of Achaia and Asia, where a few little groups of Christians had been gathered, as though they were now the domain of Christ. He had the inspiration of a sure hope that this that was beginning so simply, which in his day was still half hidden underground, was the adequate power of God to reform and remake the world. And for his own life, how calmly and hopefully he passed among all the trials and difficulties! One reads them over again and contrasts them with the ease and the luxury of even our roughest missionary life, and notes how easily and peacefully he moved among them, shipwrecks and scourgings, stripes and imprisonments, the nearness of death, and hunger and cold, and famine and storm, with an undiscouraged heart because his spirit was all lighted with his certain and indestructible hope. Beyond all this he knew the quiet waters of the harbour lay, where in due time his little ship would cast its anchor and be at rest. Meanwhile for him he was assured that all things were working together for good.

I do not think we can overstate to ourselves the rightful place of this missionary conception of hope in our work and lives. Our God is the God of hope, who will give all joy and peace in believing, and all strength in His service. And whatever faith and love may do, of this we may be sure, that if we are to be saved, it will be in the one way that St. Paul knows: "By hope we are saved." We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties of the world in which we live and the work which is to be done and which makes so

hard for us this spirit of hope. As we think of our own land to-day, of the life of our nation, of the controversies that divide the Church, as we think of all the difficulties that have to be dealt with in the missionary machinery at home, and of the seamy side of the work of the Church at home and abroad, and when, still worse, we think of the crude or weak elements in our own personal character, we realize how much there is against which we have to hold the Christian principle of hope. But we can hope. No matter how great the difficulties behind and before us and on either side, we still can walk in the fullness of a firm and indestructible hope.

Shortly after coming home from a long Oriental tour not long ago I spoke on the fresh hope and confidence resulting from that experience, which had vivified with a new joy all the faith and conviction of earlier years. A friend who was present, and who, shortly after, went over to Canterbury, England, to attend a meeting of the Committee of the International Missionary Council, reported this impression to Miss Gollock, who is associated with Mr. Oldham in the editorship of the *International Review of Missions*. Shortly after, Miss Gollock wrote, expressing her interest that one should come back at this time from the kind of a world with which we have to deal to-day, with dominant impressions such as these: "I learn from some of our recent American visitors," she said, "that even after seeing the world in the midst of all the unrest, you have come back a reasoned optimist, full of courage for days to come. Can you tell our readers that this is the case? And can you tell them why?" One is not surprised that our British friends, especially, feel this mood of discourage-

ment so deeply with regard to the present world, as they bear such heavy burdens, face such great problems and count the stationary or dwindling membership of some of their Christian communions, and as in their missionary enterprise they face the agony of the abandoning of mission stations and even of great mission fields.

Even on our side of the sea one meets many who share this mood. Recently I heard a representative of one of our greatest communions describing the grounds that make it hard, if not impossible, for a man to-day to think hopefully about the Kingdom of God and the enterprise of the Church, either at home or abroad. And not long ago a letter came from a friend in Latin-America, whose work carries him all over that continent, describing the impressions made upon him during a recent continental tour:

"I wonder if you are never tempted to lose faith in the final outcome of all that we are trying to do, especially on such a trip as you have just taken into the heart of paganism, where you face the comparatively slight progress that Christianity has made in all these years. Other men confess to this temptation. I find it hard to keep it out of my own thinking. Down here I am thrown into contact with educated men, nearly all of whom are doubters, if not declared atheists. They ply me with difficult questions. Yet I find it less difficult to meet these Latin-Americans and to discuss such problems with some hope of having made progress than to deal with many of my own countrymen who presumably have had evangelical training. In other words, one of the greatest missionary problems in South America, as it may be in other lands, is the attitude of those from whom we have a right to expect better things, even help.

"I wish I could find one of these, who, when traveling through these lands, would evince a slight degree of sympathy for the work of missions. The common attitude is that of cynicism or of direct criticism, although many confess in the next breath that they have not seen any mission work. Only this morning a man tried to get me into an argument, who condemned all mission work, even that among the Indians of the continent. It developed, of course, that he had seen only the coast towns, had probably not met a single pure blood Indian and knew absolutely nothing about those who live in the interior. Yet in his own opinion—and he is a typical American—he knew more about the situation than I do, and my own suggestions as to the best ways of helping the indigenous population fell on deaf ears.

"On this trip I met my first United States citizen who stands up for our prohibitory amendment, and he turned out to be a Roman Catholic, born in New Mexico, of French parentage, and a resident in California of the wine-growing district! Men and women, American citizens, openly flout the idea of the effectiveness of our prohibition law, and give an example of their contempt for its principles.

"What does all this mean? Has religion lost its power in our land, or do only the weaker specimens of our race travel down this way? Of course I do not get into conversation with all on such a boat as this, and I know that there must be some who, if pressed, would admit their sympathy with finer ideals. As I started out to say, I wonder if, in the midst of all this, you can go on your way with absolute confidence in the ultimate triumph of all that for which we are working. To all that I have mentioned must be added the misunderstandings and backbitings and personal enmities one finds among the representatives of Christian work. I confess that it is sometimes difficult to keep my head above the water."

I doubt whether there has been any time within our memory when we have found this mood more generally prevalent, not only among the men and women who are closest to us, but throughout the general ranks of the Christian Church in our land. There is nothing gained by shutting our eyes to the dark facts of the world and to all the real weaknesses of the missionary enterprise, as we are carrying it on—to the parasitical elements in the fruitage of our work; to the exotic ideals and institutions which we have transported; to the jugglery with words which leads us to use a score of terms, such as "equality" and "Church," for example, under the illusion that such words cover anything like full reality; to the taint of our spirit and the ineffectiveness of our action; to the environmental character of so large a proportion of the Christianity that is carried out of America by men and women who have been Christians here, but who are not professedly related to the missionary enterprise, and that breaks down the moment it is exposed to any pressure whatsoever from the new environment into which these men and women go; to the elements of weakness in our own national character and in the spirit of our international relationships; and to the poisonous sin uttering itself in a thousand different forms in the personal and corporate life of mankind.

Not for a moment do we hide from ourselves the weaknesses of our missionary undertaking. I confess that I often have deep skepticism with regard to many of those aspects of it which we seem to accept with least questioning or misgiving. Never was there any one more skeptical about some of the forms of our modern missionary enterprise than some of those most responsible for it. I believe it is the best and most

efficient enterprise in the world, but it is riddled with weakness, with elements of dissatisfaction, and with real occasions for discontent. If one says he is hopeful about foreign missions even as foreign missions actually are, and about their outcome, it is not because he shuts his eyes to their weaknesses and their defects. Rather, the more he sees of these things the surer and more confident does his hope become. We need to remember the symbolism of Watts in his picture of Hope. She is a blindfolded woman, sitting on a darkened world, with her ear against a harp, every string of which is broken but one. That is his picture, not of despair but of hope. The woman typifies hope because she does not draw from the things that she sees, from the easy optimism of the conditions under which she lives, but because beneath all this turmoil and distress she hears still a single, clear and assured note, unheard of the ear but heard in the heart.

We do well also to remember the noble way in which Gilbert Chesterton preaches the same doctrine in the best thing that he has written—"The Ballad of the White Horse." It is the story of the great struggle of Alfred against the Danes. The king had gone out again and again in the confidence that he was to prevail, and had called out his people with hopes of sure and easy victory, yet, each time, he had been overthrown. Now, once more the tidings had come that the Danes were again to invade his land. He goes down, hopeless of further struggle, to the little island in the Thames to get his message from the Mother of God. There, as he knelt down to pray for light and a word of guidance, you recall the message that came to him:

"I tell you naught for your comfort
Yea, naught for your desire,
Save that the sky grows darker yet
And the sea rises higher."

And this word, like the single string to Watts's blindfolded woman, was the word of a sure hope to him. If things could be worse, they could not be hopeless. And

"Up over windy wastes and up
Went Alfred over the shaws,
Shaken of the joy of giants,
The joy without a cause."

And his resistless call to his old warriors was,

"This is the word of Mary,
The word of the world's desire,
No word of comfort shall ye get
Save that the sky grows darker yet
And the sea rises higher."

And by a hope destitute of visible grounds, sprung from the soil of despair, he prevailed.

If we are grounding our hope on the mathematical results of our missionary work, or are finding our comfort in the way in which we are dealing with the questions of missionary policy, or are enjoying any ease of feeling with regard to the deepened missionary spirit in the Churches at home, let us set all such grounds of hope down in their proper place. We are saved by a different kind of hope from that, "For what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that which we see not, then do we with patience wait for it."

We base our hope with regard to the missionary enterprise fundamentally not on what one feels here in the Church at home, rich and joyful as the comparison is with the past, not on anything that we have known in earlier days, not primarily on what one sees as he goes abroad across the world to-day, but simply upon our solid conviction that we are working with righteousness and with truth and with God, and that in the very darkness of the deepest night, we may be best prepared to whisper to our hearts, "It may be that the Son of Man is even now standing at the door." We need to exalt this foundation of hope and faith. As Mr. Harrison, ex-president of the United States, said in his opening address as honorary chairman of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in 1900: "The enemies of foreign missions have spoken tauntingly of the slowness of the work and of its great and disproportionate cost, and we have too exclusively consoled ourselves and answered the criticism by the suggestion that with God a thousand years is as one day. We should not lose sight of the other side of that truth—one day with Him is as a thousand years. God has not set a uniform pace for Himself in the work of bringing in the Kingdom of His Son. He will hasten it in His day. The stride of His Church shall be so quickened that commerce will be the laggard. Love shall outrun greed. He exacts faith."

One of our leading missionary pastors said recently, "You know, we ministers can't preach on missions any more. No man can preach on missions now, unless he has been out to visit the mission field." I knew what he meant and the truth in it, but I felt like telling him that the viewpoint was mistaken, as indeed

his own efficient ministry proved. The great appeal of missions is not made up of anecdotes about things we have seen, while roaming here and there across the world. It is not made up of facts gathered out of reports that one has heard in mission meetings abroad. The foundations of the missionary enterprise are far deeper than these. The men who founded the missionary enterprise had no such consolations or encouragements as these. They had to create them for the weaker men and women who were coming after them, whose faith must be sustained on the fruits of the pioneering that was done by the founders. We need to come back in our own day to the grounds on which the men and women stood who launched the missionary enterprise; for there are great pioneering tasks that are calling for us to-day, and that are going to call in vain, if our missionary motives need to be fed from the springs which are secondary and are not kept vital and alive by drawing their nutriment from the gushing fountains that nourished the men of the early days.

But, having clearly recognized this, let us turn to the lower aspects of hope. A man may rationally view the missionary undertaking to-day with a confident and hopeful spirit, on clear grounds that he can describe to other men. We are made hopeful and we communicate hope, first of all, by grasping the reality of the facts with which we deal. Let us name only four of these facts:

First is the indisputable fact of the miracle of redeemed and transformed individual persons. Recently at a Latin-American dinner in New York, it was natural that Mr. Dwight H. Day, then Treasurer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, when asked to report briefly his impressions of Mexico, which he

had just visited, should turn instinctively and irresistibly to the remembrance of the individual Christian men and women whom he had met all over the states of Mexico, in whom the miracle of a purified and transformed character had been wrought by the power that goes with the message of the living, transforming Christ. One wonders, when talking with some of the young leaders of India to-day, how they can miss this fact and continue the opposition which they are voicing against the low-caste movement, for example, an opposition which is, as a matter of fact, one of the most interesting and perplexing problems in the life of the Church in India. One wonders that some of these young leaders do not see and appraise the miracle of change in individual personal character among these poor out-caste folk, dropped through the bottom of human society, a people who were not, until Christ touched them and made them a people who were.

They come thronging back into one's mind, these men and women whom we have met across the world, the intellectual peers, some of them, of the best we have in our own land, and the spiritual equals, if not superiors. One sees against what odds they hold their gain from Christ, and realizes the power that is pouring out from their lives, drawn from no source except the great original source. How can one have any misgivings, as he comes home from the living friendships he has formed with these men and women all over the earth? They are a new order of the apostles of Christ, as visibly and really transformed as those men whom Christ gathered into His little group nineteen centuries ago and sent out, remade, to be the remakers of the world.

There are undoubtedly defects and shortcomings in

the religious character and experience of the converts on the mission fields as there are in the Churches at home. But if we take the matter of worship alone as a test, to pick out but this one, there can be no doubt of the validity of the work that has been done in them. It is not easy, to be sure, to compare with absolute justice the forms and spirit of the worshippers of the non-Christian religions on the mission fields with the forms and spirit of Christian worshippers both on the mission field and at home. There are earnest seekers before many heathen shrines and there are many careless and perfunctory worshippers in all Christian Churches. If it is said, as it truly may be said, that there are ignorant and unworthy heathen priests, it may be said, too, that records of our Christian Churches of not so many years ago may easily be shown which tell of the shortcomings and delinquencies of some of our own teachers.

But when we have recognized and acknowledged all this it remains true that Christian worship is of a totally higher order than the worship in Buddhist and Hindu temples and utterly different and richer than the worship in the Mohammedan mosques. On the mission field, while sometimes something is lost in the transfer of worship from the old shrines with their images to the little chapels so plain and simple, the change usually brings with it immeasurable gain. The new worship is a reasonable and intelligent worship. It may be a struggle to worship without the images, but more often it is a glad emancipation. The new believers worship in spirit and in truth.

The memories of such worship and of the worshippers throng back into the mind of any one who has visited the mission field. The church of Nakon,

Siam, comes to my thought. The neat building, spotlessly clean, was filled with men and women and children. The congregation sang, in their own tongue, some of the great old hymns of the Church and read all in unison the last chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, and listened intently, children and all, to Dr. Wachter's translation of the addresses of the visitors. A current of wonderfully variegated life flowed by on the broad road before the church. Some would stop and stand in the doorways and listen. Here and there in the congregation sat bandaged patients from the mission hospital across the street. From the platform we could look out through the open doors and see the cleanly coloured walls of the hospital with its obvious marks of order and efficiency and service. Adjoining the hospital was a great Buddhist temple compound. An old pagoda falling into ruins was overgrown with trees and foliage. A great Buddhist image sat defaced and neglected before the pagoda falling under a corrugated iron roof. No worshippers knelt before it. No voice of worship or of teaching could be heard. There was Siamese Buddhism, indolent, torpid, ineffective, living on only as a sedative and an opiate. strong in the tradition and inertia of two thousand years. Here, beside it and across the street, was Christianity, alert, living, serving mankind in the ministry of an active love, filled with the spirit of Him who said, " I came to minister," and " I must work."

Nothing that I have ever seen on the mission field went more directly to the heart than the chapel service at this Nakon hospital. All the patients who could be moved were brought into the front corridor and reception hall and there we sat in the midst of them. One was an old woman from whose left temple a huge

cancer had been cut away. Two little girl patients led in by the hand an old blind woman awaiting operation for cataract. A Siamese widow dressed in mourning, all in white, was there with a tumor which was to be taken away. An official had just come for an operation. It was such a company as our Lord must have looked upon as He stood in the door of Simon's mother's house as the sun was going down. And as the company sang, "The Great Physician Now is Near," we felt that He was indeed there as truly as in Capernaum. If any heart wishes to be sure of being with Him it need only follow Him into such scenes as these in the church and hospital at Nakon.

Not long afterwards I was in the Philippine Islands visiting the country work in the island of Cebu, with Mr. Jansen. Mr. Jansen began the itinerating work of the station many years ago in the insurrection days and the congregations which grew up are scattered from one end of the long island to the other. One day of our visit was spent back in the mountains with one of the hill country congregations. Our only regret was that we could not have had with us every missionary worker from the Church at home and a host of those people who do not believe in missions, but who would have believed if they had been there that day. The beautiful little chapel which the people had built unaided was on a high hill looking out across the hilltops to the distant sea. The scorching midsummer tropical sun was forgotten amid the delicious breezes that blew unceasingly through the wide open windows of the chapel. It was a week-day visit, but the people had left their work and come from their little farms scattered among the hills, the men, women and children all together. Ten years before these peo-

ple, half fed, cultivating only little patches of ground, and dressed in rags and naked to the waist, were dwelling on the edge of life. Now, with the country at peace, and sure of their property, they were cultivating eight or ten times the amount of soil they formerly cultivated, and none of our Sunday congregations at home could appear with more dignity and propriety or look more attractive than this congregation at Cabangahan. We had meetings all morning and afternoon, and nowhere at home would one find more eager, responsive listeners than these were or hearts that answered with more overflowing joy to the appeal of Christian faith and love. Missionary unbelief or indifference is simply impossible to one who has seen the reality of the work as we have seen it amid such true and simple-hearted Christians as these.

A few months later I went one Sunday morning through the noisy, unclean streets of Tientsin, China, to worship in the native Chinese Church. In the drum tower section of the East Gate Great Street, and at a stone's throw east of the drum tower in the very midst of the unending interplay of these forces of life and death, stood the church that we were seeking. The Independent Christian Church of Tientsin has its home here in a substantial Chinese brick building loaned by the Congregational Mission, but renovated and maintained by the church, which, without presumption but with earnest and coöperative spirit, carried on here its living work as the one ecclesiastically and financially independent church at that time in northern China. About two hundred were present at the morning service, five men to one woman, and most of the men were young and belonging obviously either to the student or the official class. The church was without a pastor

then, its last minister having gone to America to study. One of the elders conducted the service, a bright, able man, a graduate years ago of Dr. Calvin Mateer's college in Tung Chow, now the Arts Department of the Shantung University. After the opening hymns and prayer he read part of the fifth chapter of Matthew, and then the visiting preacher, Pastor Li Pen Yuan of the Central Congregational Church in Peking, preached from the text, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

We could not understand a word that was said, but we knew that Dr. Walter Lowrie, of the Presbyterian missions, who was with us and to whom Chinese was as his mother tongue, would tell us all about it afterwards, and we were content to sit on the long bench against the whitewashed wall to the preacher's right and meditate on all that that scene in the church meant against the background of the mass without, whose heathen hopelessness no euphemism can cloak. Taught by the living experience of the hour, old aspects of the Gospel that is both old and ever new shone forth with fresh significance. On the wall above the preacher were three great Chinese characters in gold, faith on his right hand, hope on his left hand, and between the two in larger outline and against a background of red like crimson stood the great bold character for love. There it was, the one central and essential thing, the only thing that has ever redeemed any man, the only thing that can redeem China to-day, love on a groundwork of sacrifice, sheer goodness dipped in blood and faithful even to the cross of death. But could even love prevail in the huge, sodden mass and struggle of animal living which poured like a yellow stream through the East Gate Great Street? No, but, I told

myself, the Gospel was not love unto death alone, but power unto resurrection and to life, and where on earth was there more unanswerable testimony to the reality of that power than here in China?

In this very city of Tientsin, in Peking, in a hundred places the flood of death in the Boxer Uprising had wiped out every vestige of the Church of Christ and now on every spot where the floods of death had passed the power of life had worked and made the thing that had been and was not, to be again tenfold stronger than it was before. With the power of the resurrection added to the love of the cross, how could the Christian heart dare to despair or to set up a kinship with paganism which is "without hope"? And I was thinking on from love to power, from power to hope and from hope to peace, looking up now and then at the great gold characters on the wall or at the colours of the Chinese flag painted, five bars, along the rafters, when the clock struck twelve and Pastor Li closed his message.

It was an hour of as true homelike worship as one could have found anywhere in the world. Neither in Siam nor the Philippine Islands, nor China, nor America, "neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem" alone, but everywhere, "the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth; for such doth the Father seek to be His worshippers."

But we turn from these fruitages of the work of missions to note again the fact of the tides of changing life and truth that are visibly pulsing from Christianity through the world. The editorial in Mr. Natarajan's paper, *The Indian Social Reformer,* in Bombay, on the occasion of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr.

Gandhi is a strong statement of the impress made by these events on the thought of India. But is it too strong?

"While it has shaken the faith of some people in the efficiency and morality of non-violence as a political method," it says in part, "it has prompted a much larger number, including many who have set themselves for years to counteract the proselytizing work of missionaries, to turn to the figure of Christ upon the cross in reverent contemplation. Orthodox Hindus, militant Arya Samajists, devout Mohammedans, and, of course, Brahmans, have had their minds turned to Calvary in commenting upon the event. It may be said without exaggeration that the Mahatma in jail has achieved in a short while what Christian missions had not been able to achieve with all their resources of men and money, in a hundred years. He has turned India's face to Christ upon the cross."

One need not pass any judgment on Mr. Natarajan's comparisons, but he can rejoice in this positive statement. One of the things that interests the visitor most, as he passes through India to-day, trying to study the movements under the surface of its life, is the new standards of judgment which have come and the new courts to which appeals are made. We were in Bombay on Christmas Day, 1921, and I remember the editorial on Christmas morning in the Bombay *Chronicle*, one of the leading Nationalist newspapers in India. It defended the ideals that lay behind Mr. Gandhi's life, and the principles on which the Nationalistic movement was going forward. The National Congress was then in session at Ahmedahad and was making Mr. Gandhi absolute dictator over Hindus and Mohammedans alike, and was upholding the prin-

ciple of non-violence which was wormwood to many Moslems. The *Chronicle* was justifying the departure from old ideals and the acceptance of new conceptions, the substitution of Gandhi's autocracy for democracy and the doctrine of non-violence, not by any appeal to Hindu or Moslem Scriptures nor by any citation of Hindu deities, but by appealing straight to the spirit and principles of Christ and to the New Testament.

A friend sent me recently the public report just issued on the subject of prostitution in Bombay. One read it with many different grounds for interest, but with none that equalled the interest one felt because it illustrated the great shift from Hindu to Christian moral conceptions, due to the transformation of ideals and of judgments controlling the common thought of men, some of whom are unaware how far they are being brought under the dominance of the mind of Christ. A hundred illustrations could be cited of the way in which the thought of Jesus is penetrating the life of the world, and the mind of Christ is becoming the standard by which the life of mankind must be judged. Three illustrative testimonies will suffice. They were given by three men of Asia at the meeting of the Annual Conference of the Foreign Mission Boards of North America in January, 1924. The first speaker was Professor Yonan Masih of India:

"The greatest fact about India to-day is this: India hails Jesus Christ as supreme," said Professor Masih. "India has come to believe that He is the only hope for the solution of its problems. When the leaders of the non-coöperative party wanted to compare Mr. Gandhi with the world's highest, noblest and best, they did not

compare him with Buddha, the founder of Buddhism; or with any of the Hindu deities, or with Mohammed, the prophet of Islam. They placed him next to Jesus Christ as the only Person Who stands unique in the whole world. Mr. Gandhi, himself, in his non-coöperation campaign against the government, freely quoted from the teachings of Jesus Christ in the New Testament to convince the people that his campaign was right and just.

"The opposition non-Christian party, whose leaders did not agree with Mr. Gandhi, also freely used the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus Christ to prove that the non-coöperation campaign would bring only disaster. At a most critical time in the history of their people these two non-Christian parties based their appeal straight on Jesus Christ as the unquestionable Source of unassailable truth.

"When Mr. Gandhi was sent to prison, there appeared the next day in one of the radical daily papers an article, written by a non-Christian lady, which was quoted in a number of other non-Christian dailies and weeklies, and was translated into many other vernaculars. Its caption was 'The arrest and trial of Mr. Gandhi parallels the arrest and trial of Jesus Christ.' When the non-Christian public saw that, it wanted to know who Jesus Christ was, why He was arrested, why He was sentenced to death, why He suffered on the Cross. And a study of His life and teachings began among many who had previously ignored Christian teaching.

"Some missionaries have said that when they visited Mr. Gandhi's Asharam, where he had started a national school for boys and girls, they heard the pupils singing the hymn, 'When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,' and the other hymn, 'In the Cross of Christ I Glory.' The teacher told them that these two hymns were favourites with Mr. Gandhi. There you have a non-Christian man training non-Christian boys and girls in sublime teachings about Christ and His Cross. These men and their pupils

may not come out and be baptized, making public confession as followers of Jesus Christ, but in their heart of hearts they will know there is only One in Whose hands lies the destiny of the whole world.

"A new day is dawning in India as its people learn to use the Bible. A Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, a prominent non-Christian leader, in a recent address, said: 'If you ask what is the most powerful influence that has entered my life to shape it, I will tell you it is the Bible.' A Hindu professor in the Hindu University in Benares at a public meeting made this confession: 'There has been no other such character in human history as Jesus Christ.' The Maharajah of Travancore once said: 'It is the Christian's Bible that sooner or later will work out the regeneration of India.' It is the harbinger of a new day when an Indian thinker in a non-Christian journal can write these words: 'If ever there was a time when the educated Indian has consciously paid homage to Jesus Christ, it is in the year 1922.'

"An Englishman in the retired Indian Civil Service tried to show in an article, not long ago, that this whole revolt in India was against Christian civilization. Non-Christian leaders, one after another, took up the matter and answered him by saying that the revolt was not against Christian civilization, but against unchristian civilization. They made such statements as these: 'At no other time in India has there been a more lively appreciation of Christ and His character than to-day. Many of her children are turning their eyes to the cross, the centrality of which tragedy in the world's history is beginning to grip them with romantic power.'

"Never in the history of Christian missions in India was there a more serious study of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ than to-day. Every action of the British Government is judged according to His standards. Every resolution passed by the League of Nations or in the Imperial Conference is judged according to His teachings.

"One missionary, who goes over the whole country working among educated Indians, non-Christians and college students, declares that there was a time, twenty, fifteen or ten years back, when the name of Jesus would be hissed by non-Christian students. Now the situation has wholly changed. Questions of this type are asked of him: 'How can one be a Christian?' or 'Is baptism necessary?' When he went to Nagpur to work among the educated classes there, he found that because of a great flag agitation some 1,200 young men had been arrested and thrown into prison. The presiding magistrate told him that when these 1,200 were allowed to choose a limited number of things which they might take with them into prison, about 300 chose the New Testament. But should any one ask them 'Understandest thou what thou readest?' the answer would have to be given, 'How can I, except some one should guide me?' There are only eighteen missionaries working in India for every one million of population. Are they enough to evangelize that number?

"'I have found by actual experience,' this missionary said, 'that where there have been great political agitations, there the men are most interested in the presentation of the Gospel.' Mr. Gandhi, before he went to prison, sent a message to the youth of India, asking them to study the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, and to try to follow those teachings. Non-Christian India is seriously considering whether Jesus Christ cannot really solve India's problems.

"Only a few months ago, one of the most prominent non-Christian journalists of India made a public plea like this: 'There are many eminent non-Christians who turn for guidance in the perplexing problems of national life to the teachings of Christ. India earnestly hopes that the great body of Christian missionaries in this land will stand by her in her endeavour to apply the central teachings of Christ to her national life.'"

The second speaker was Dean H. Hatanaka of Japan:

"Of the men employed to-day in the social schemes of the Government, many have come out of our Christian churches," said the dean. "Perhaps the progress of the Japanese churches has not been as rapid as we might wish, yet during the last fifty years the Christian churches have accomplished a great deal.

"Jesus Christ is also working to-day outside of our churches in Japan. In the last few years the best selling books have been the books that deal with Christ or Christianity. There are many books dealing with Christian themes, many of them written by non-Christians. The entire Sermon on the Mount has been placed in one of the High School textbooks, recognized by the Government. This textbook is used all over the country. Moreover, in four of the leading newspapers in Osaka and Tokyo, during the last two years, have been published serial novels written by non-Christian men, yet having Christian men among their chief characters. In one of them Mr. Uchimura, a well-known Christian in Japan, is the chief character. Newspaper men do not use stories of this kind if they are not sure that they will take well with their readers. Many films thrown on the screens of movies to-day in Japan give the stories of such books as 'Quo Vadis,' 'Les Miserables' and the 'Life of Christ.' Even Buddhists show an interest in the Christ. It was my privilege to have four Buddhist priests in my church in Kyoto, Sunday after Sunday; they were earnest seekers of Jesus Christ and were ready to know more about Him.

"But if all these things are true, why is it that Christianity has not won Japan? Why cannot the churches make greater progress with such a deep interest in Christ everywhere? As I was leaving Japan to come to America, one of the girls in Kobe College asked me, 'How can I come into contact with a vital Christ, who will give me a

compelling power with others?' She knew about the life of Jesus Christ and about Christianity as taught in Sunday-school or in church, yet she was still trying to get hold of a transforming Christ who would empower her to act in right fashion. She is typical of many Japanese young men and women to-day who know about Christ, but who are looking for a Saviour so real that His authority is absolute over life. Such a Christ we need to-day in Japan, a Christ who can control the group life and the life of the nation, as well as of individuals. We are looking for a Christ who is not only interested in our spiritual life, but who takes interest in our business dealings, and in our social life. We are looking for a Christ who unifies, not One who is divided by denominational barriers, but One who helps us to look upon non-Christian peoples with love. We are looking for a Christ whom the Japanese can call their own and who need not be grafted upon the nation from outside. Japan to-day is looking for a Christ who will take her people where we are and will enter into their lives to strengthen them."

The third speaker was Mr. Y. Y. Tsu of China:

"Through Jesus Christ we have been led to 'see the Father,'" Mr. Tsu declared. "Neither Buddhism nor Confucianism nor any other non-Christian religion has made us see God as our Father. It is only Christ that has brought Him to us in that gracious relationship. The Greek and the Hindu philosophers were seekers after God. But humankind never realized God as a Father until Christ came. Pantheism, that vague, misty system, tried to lead us to believe that everything is God. At the other extreme a crass and crude polytheism grew out of the attempt to localize God and to embody His likeness in images of stone, or wood, or clay. But when I read that passage where Philip said: 'Lord, show us the Father and it sufficeth us,' it seems to me that the apostle not

only voiced the spiritual yearnings of his own people, but those of mankind for all ages.

"Second, through Jesus Christ we have come to know true brotherhood. Undoubtedly, the idea of human brotherhood is found more or less clearly in all religions. You find it in Buddhism, but, because Buddhism failed to spread it throughout humankind, it created a special monastic brotherhood for those who are willing to devote their lives to religion. You find the same idea expressed in Confucianism, 'under heaven one family.' The special contribution of Christianity is not the thought of brotherhood, but rather the presentation of the source of human brotherhood. Other religions are trying to enjoy the fruit without planting the tree, but Christianity plants a tree from which we can get the fruit. As Bishop Brent said: 'We cannot know the meaning of the word "fraternal," unless we first know the meaning of the word "filial." We can only understand the meaning of human brotherhood through our sonship in Christ. It was Christ alone who said: "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother."'

"Third, Jesus Christ has greatly enriched the wellsprings of human sympathy. Bertrand Russell the English philosopher was asked during his visit to China to give a critical estimate of Chinese character. He replied that he had admired many things in the Chinese people and in their culture, and that only because he had been asked would he point out three weaknesses. One of these was callousness, lack of sympathy, inability to appreciate suffering on the part of others. No doubt we can explain that that is mainly due to the hard struggle for existence in China. On the other hand, we might point out the beautiful spirit of helpfulness which can be found within the Chinese clan or the family group. Yet it must be confessed that the Chinese lack that wonderful human sympathy which is so richly developed in a truly Christian

atmosphere. A non-Christian Chinese scholar, a professor of the Government university of Peking, after a careful study of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, said recently: 'I have found three things in the Christian religion which China needs—the spirit of sympathy, the spirit of forgiveness, and the spirit of sacrificial service.' In a very striking sentence he said: 'Only this spirit of Jesus Christ, only these great principles of Jesus Christ, can save us from the pit that is dark and dismal and cold into which we have fallen.'"

As one reviews a hundred years of history another striking fact emerges in the slow but sure subjugation of the conscience of nations to the ideal of missionary obligation. When the East India Company was alive it made no missionary apologies for its acts. If it wanted to take land, it took it without any pretext that it was doing it as a trustee or for the benefit of the people of whom it was taking possession. It established order, but it did so for purposes of its own trade. The selfish principle felt no need of apologizing for itself a hundred years ago. How great was the change that had taken place when the Congo Free State was set up, for example, barely a generation ago, when old political ideals had ceased to be any longer possible, when nations could not think any longer, or act any longer, under old categories previously unchallenged! Then turn to-day to the mandates of the League of Nations, under which different nations have been assigned territory taken over from Germany, which recognize a new principle of national trusteeship and of missionary duty, and reflect on what influences have brought about this change in the common minds of men within a hundred years with regard to the relationship of nations.

Take only one other fact, which can be put in either one of two ways—the growing consciousness of men that we have in the Christian Gospel the only hope of the world, or, put otherwise, the growing conviction of men that there is no other hope for the world except the hope that is in Christ.

We need not linger longer on these indisputable facts, which a man needs simply to observe and grasp, in order to have his feet set on a road of confidence and hope with regard to the progress and ultimate, though far off, triumph of the reign of Christ over the life of the world.

In the second place, a man who is, or who wishes to be, hopeful to-day can justify his hope to himself and others by the apprehension of a true perspective, by seeing more accurately than we have been accustomed to see the days of a hundred years ago, when our enterprise began. I was given recently two volumes of the *Missionary Magazine* of the old Massachusetts Missionary Society, for the decade prior to the incorporation of the American Board. Those old discoloured, time-worn books brought back with great vividness the air that men breathed in those early years of the last century, when the modern missionary enterprise in America really began. All that one ever needs to do in a discouraged mood is to turn back and read the actual missionary sources and enter into the true spirit of men in the days when great hearts launched this missionary enterprise. Standing in the midst of the difficulties and problems of our day, we often come at them child-fashion, as though we were the first men who were ever called upon to deal with such things. But, all this has been the stuff of missionary administration from the beginning. Our

problems are not one whit more difficult, and our resources are far richer, than when the founders did their work, a century or even half a century ago. What we need in order to dispel a great deal of our cheap despair is simply an accurate knowledge of the earlier terms of comparison. Let any man go back and measure those days against our days, and he will thank God for the way and the distance we have been led.

Think of the changes that those have seen who have been a generation now in this missionary enterprise, both inside and without! We have seen the issue of the native Church and the mission grow up within the last thirty years. How much happier are the men who live in the generation in which that issue has become acute than the men who lived in a generation when it had not arisen! We have seen an amazing growth of the spirit of tolerance across the world. I contrast again and again what I saw in the Mohammedan world, thirty years ago, with what one sees to-day. Of course, the eddies come and will come yet once more. We are experiencing them now in northwestern Persia, where a little while ago the stream was running almost without hindrance but where, due in part to the Turkish changes, a back eddy has set in. Still the stream moves on. All one needs to do is to review a little longer period, and he sees how far and fast the great and steady current has moved.

Outside the missionary enterprise also there is advance. We can remember the day when an American Secretary of State said that an American missionary, when he went abroad, forfeited all rights and became a political pariah on the face of the earth. No man will talk that way to-day, or in our children's

day! A missionary may surrender his rights but he has them to surrender. It is clear that when we look back and see accurately the conditions of the times that have gone, and then grasp the facts of our own day, many of the clouds go out of our sky, and hope deepens in our hearts.

In the third place we can assure our own hope and propagate the spirit of hope in the churches at home by being ready ceaselessly to enter into larger calls of duty. One wonders whether a great deal of our discouragement has not been due to our over-familiarity with too long accepted boundaries to our tasks; whether, again and again, energies that were adequate to a task when we assailed it have not died down simply for the reason that we took on no new task, the very preservation of those energies, not to speak of their enlargement, being dependent upon the courageous assumption of new and larger obligations.

One sympathizes deeply with those European missionary organizations which are compelled by financial conditions to curtail their work and to contract their fields. I have never seen anything sadder than missionary stations abandoned, and great missionary organizations, only a few years ago leading the missionary work of the world, closing missionary enterprises and reducing their work. Let us hold fast, just as long as we can, in our American societies, to the principle of expansion. In the history of the Presbyterian Board, for example, I recall, again and again, our reaching a point where our work seemed beyond our resources, where there was no way whatsoever to enlarge these resources except by enlarging the work and making sure that it would be still more in excess of resources than before. Korea was occupied and

the Philippine Islands and the province of Hunan in times just like that. I recall also the proposed occupation of the unreached areas of the province of Yunnan and the new work in northern Mesopotamia, and in northeastern Persia and northwestern Afghanistan. These were undertaken not because there were any surplus resources for these new tasks, but because we believed that unless we assumed larger tasks we would not continue equal to the tasks we had already assumed.

Collectively, how urgent is the appeal of these larger tasks in this day! There is the task of a more adequate geographical occupation of the world. Men say that the old missionary call is not valid any more, and that we cannot go any longer to the students of our colleges with the appeal of the earlier days that tremendous unoccupied fields still are waiting for pioneers. Not so. There are huge unoccupied areas in the world to-day, great areas geographically, great strata in the lives of nations and great typical problems standing out in the nation, in the Church, even in the missionary enterprise, with which the Christian Church has not yet begun adequately to grapple. Our own racial problem, for example, is one of these. Do we intend to surrender it to men of the school of thought of Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard? Their books have had a vogue and power in America that no Christian books dealing with the race problem under Christian principles have acquired. Does the Christian Church mean deliberately to turn its back on the problem of race, and surrender that problem to men who will conscientiously but certainly mislead humanity? There are as great calls to the Christian Church to-day to pass out into new and larger tasks,

as the Christian Church has ever had in any earlier generation; and to feed the fires of a living hope in the Church to-day we must be courageous enough to grapple with these new and larger tasks.

And last of all, we shall preserve our own hope and foster a deeper and a richer hope in the hearts of other men if we will keep our grasp unrelaxed upon the great spiritual foundations, the sufficiency of our Gospel, and the adequacy of the power of our risen and living Lord. There is creeping very subtly into many of our schools and colleges to-day—and outside of our schools and colleges, too, one can find it without difficulty—the view of the missionary enterprise which Frick sets forth in a book that is criticized in a review by Dr. Mirbt in the *International Review of Missions,* the view that we have been familiar with from the beginning, that Christianity is only one of a number of rival religions, which are to mingle together and pool their best, so that the collection of their best will be the ultimate faith of mankind, instead of the old idea, exclusive, if you please, that the Christianity of the New Testament is an absolute faith. Our knowledge of that faith is not absolute. We need all the help we can get to understand the faith, but the faith is an absolute faith in one Lord, the only Name given under heaven and among men, the only Way and Truth and Life.

If there is to come a parting of the ways in the days just ahead of us, it must come, for the only missionary enterprise that will endure and prevail must rest in the future on the same foundations on which it has rested in the past. The missionary enterprise is not a quest for something that Christianity does not possess. It is an effort to share with the world the things that

Christianity does contain, that, to be sure, we ourselves do not adequately apprehend, of which we cannot set up ourselves as being the exclusive interpreters, but that are there, not needing to be supplemented, or corrected, or enriched. They are all there, in our Lord Jesus Christ, Himself the one sufficient Saviour, the adequate Light of the world, the full Desire of the nations. But this is the only lawful parting of the ways that there is. So long as men love and trust and follow Christ there can be no division among them that Christ will approve.

And this salvation that is in Christ it is our clear duty to carry to all the world now. For God in Christ is our only hope and the only hope of the world, and the world needs Christ and Christ alone and Christ now.

A few years ago we heard a great deal about the need of educating and civilizing the world before we try to change its religion. Dr. George Hamilton advanced this argument in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1796: "To spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seems to me to be highly preposterous in as far as it anticipates, nay, as it even reverses the order of nature," he declared. "Men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths. Philosophy and learning must, in the nature of things, take the precedence. Indeed, it should seem hardly less absurd to make revelation precede civilization in the order of time, than to pretend to unfold to a child the 'Principia' of Newton, ere he is made at all acquainted with the letters of the alphabet. These ideas seem to me alike founded in error; and, therefore, I must consider them

both as equally romantic and visionary." We do not hear so much of this view now. Civilization has revealed its weak and false elements, and we know that the sin and passion which are in human hearts, are beyond its power to control or to destroy. God is man's one need. Man cannot save himself or make anything out of himself. He needs what God and God alone can do for him. If that be true of Europe and America, it is true of all the rest of the world. Jesus Christ is the one Saviour of men and each man in the world needing that Saviour has a right to look to those who know of Him to tell of Him to all mankind.

Even as a purely religious movement, however, there are some who object to foreign missions on the ground that there are other religions in the world which are true for their followers and which meet their needs as truly as Christianity meets ours. They say that a fair comparison of Christianity with other religions destroys the claim of Christianity and makes foreign missions unnecessary. Is this true? What are the conclusions which such a comparison presents?

1. In the first place it is a significant fact that Christianity is the only religion which is trying to make good its claim to universalism. None of the non-Christian religions is making any real effort to do so. Mohammedanism is spreading in Africa and India, but it makes no effort of any significance to convert America or Europe or Japan. The bounds of Confucianism are contracting, Shinto has withdrawn from the list as a religion, and claims now only the place of a court ceremonial and a burial rite. Zoroastrianism, one of the worthiest of the ancient religions, has almost vanished in the land of its origin, and numbers comparatively few adherents in India.

Hinduism is geographically limited, save as a philosophy, by its principle of caste, and Buddhism is rejected in Japan by the very men who might succeed in propagating it elsewhere. But Christianity is moving out over all the earth with steadily increasing power, with ever multiplying agencies, with ever enlarged devotion, and with open and undiscourageable purpose to prepare for Christ's kingship over the world. And not less significant than the fact of Christianity's missionary purpose, is the method of it. With no trust in secular support, in spite of all slanders which charge otherwise, with purely moral agencies and with fair comparison of its treasures with anything that the world can offer, Christianity goes fearlessly forth to deal with all the life and thought of man and to solve his problems and meet his needs in the name and strength of God.

2. At the root of all things is the idea of God. Here all religions meet to be judged. "The truth and the good inherent in all forms of religion is that, in all, man seeks after God. The finality of Christianity lies in the fact that it reveals the God for whom man seeks" (Jevons, "Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion," page 258). The best that can be said of any non-Christian religion is that it is seeking for that which Christianity possesses—the true and perfect God. As Dr. W. N. Clark says in his too little remembered "Study of Christian Missions":

"The conception of God with which Christianity addresses the world is the best that man can form or entertain. If such a God is real, all best things are possible. When Christianity goes out to meet the world, it goes with a declaration which the world has never known as

true, namely, the declaration that such a God is real. It says that the only God that exists is the good God and Father of Jesus Christ. It declares that He is near, approachable, tender, approaching men with desire to bring the blessing of His goodness to all souls and to impart it to the general life of humanity. It declares this on the ground of God's gracious self-revelation in Jesus Christ, and on the ground of rich and satisfactory experience in innumerable souls, confirming the message that Christ has borne concerning Him. God has offered Himself to be known by men in actual experience, it says, and consequently God is known by many men, and may be known by more. The reality of the holy and gracious Saviour-God is the dearest and surest certainty to innumerable human beings, and may come to be the same to innumerable others. On the ground of the revelation and the experience, Christianity proclaims this living God with confidence to those who have not known Him yet, and summons them to acquaintance with the God whose fullness in the human soul is life eternal. It does not need to be shown that the religion of such a God has rights among men. A religion that can proclaim such a God, and proclaim Him on the ground of experience, is adapted to all men, and is worthy of all acceptation. Since Christianity is the religion of such a God, Christianity deserves possession of the world. It has the right to offer itself boldly to all men and to displace all other religions, for no other religion offers what it brings."

If it is asked, What is that excellence in Christianity by virtue of which it is entitled to be a missionary religion and deserves to be received by all men?—the answer, says Dr. Clark, is as follows:

"Christianity is entitled to be a missionary religion and to displace all other religions, because of its God.

"There are many glories in the religion of Jesus Christ,

and it can do many services for men; but its crowning glory, or rather the sum of all its glory, is its God. Christianity has such a conception of God as no other religion has attained; and, what is more, it proclaims and brings to pass such an experience of God as humanity has never elsewhere known. It is in this that we find that superiority which entitles Christianity to offer itself to all mankind.

"It is necessary to tell in a few words what this God is who is the glory of Christianity and the ground of its boldness in missionary advances—this God so infinitely excellent that all men may well afford to forget all their own religions, if they may but know Him. The God of Christianity is one, the sole source, Lord and end of all. He is holy, having in Himself the character that is the worthy standard for all beings. He is love, reaching out to save the world from sin and fill it with His own Goodness. He is wise, knowing how to accomplish His heart's desire. He is Father in heart, looking upon His creatures as His own, and seeking their welfare. All this truth concerning Himself, He has made known in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, in whom His redemptive will has found expression, and His saving love has come forth to mankind."

Set over against this conception of God the views which the non-Christian religions take of Him, and it does not need to be shown that the religion of the Christian God has supreme rights among men. To quote Dr. Clark again:

"A religion that can proclaim such a God, and proclaim Him on the ground of experience, is adapted to all men, and is worthy of all acceptation. Since Christianity is the religion of such a God, Christianity deserves possession of the world. It has the right to offer itself boldly

to all men, and to displace all other religions, for no other religion offers what it brings. It is the best that the world contains. Because of its doctrine and experience of the perfect God, it is the best that the world contains. Because of its doctrine and experience of the perfect God, it is the best that the world can contain. Its contents can be unfolded and better known, but they cannot be essentially improved upon. At heart, Christianity is simply the revelation of the perfect God, doing the work of perfect love and holiness for His creatures, and transforming them into His own likeness so that they will do the works of love and holiness towards their fellows. Than this nothing can be better. Therefore, Christianity has full right to be a missionary religion, and Christians are called to be a missionary people."

3. From its unique and adequate conception of God, it follows that Christianity has a message to the world which is full of notes which the non-Christian religions do not and cannot possess. Even ideas which some of these religions share with Christianity, such as "belief in an after life, in the difference between right and wrong, and that the latter deserves punishment; in the need of an atonement for sin; in the efficacy of prayer; in the universal presence of spiritual powers of some kind;" belief in the sovereignty of God, in the immanence of God, in the transitoriness and vanity of this earthly life on one hand, and in the infinite significance of this life and the sacredness of the human order on the other,—have a relationship and a significance in Christianity, with its perfect God, which makes them totally different from the conceptions of other religions. And beside these, Christianity has a whole world of conceptions of its own—the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, redemp-

tion, the incarnation of a personal God, atonement, character, service, fellowship.

4. In its conception of sin, in its provision for sin's forgiveness and defeat, and in its ideals of salvation and the free offer of its salvation to every man, Christianity is unique and satisfying. Christianity sees sin as the supreme evil in the world, it regards it as a want of conformity to the perfect will of God, or as a transgression of His perfect law; it teaches that sin is not a matter of act only, but also of thought and desire and will—a taint in the nature; it insists that God is not responsible for it or for any evil; it emphasizes the guilt and horror of it, and the deadly consequences both for time and for eternity, and it opens to man a way of full forgiveness and clean victory. In contrast with this view, Mohammedanism teaches that sin is only the wilful violation of God's law; sins of ignorance it does not recognize; its doctrine of God's sovereignty fixes the responsibility for sin on God and dissolves the sense of guilt, and it denies the evil taint of sin in human nature. In Hinduism sin as opposition to the will of a personal God is inconceivable; it is the inevitable result of the acts of a previous state of being; it is evil, because all existence and all action, good as well as bad, are evil, and it is illusion, as all things are illusion. In pure Buddhism there can be no sin in our sense of the word, because there is no God; sin there means "thirst," "desire," and what Buddhism seeks to escape is not the evil of life only, but life itself; and its conception of the sins that impede, while including much that is immoral, does not include all, and does include much on the other hand that has no immoral character at all. Confucianism makes no men-

tion of man's relation to God, and totally lacks all conception of sin. In one word, Christianity is the only religion in the world which clearly diagnoses the disease of humanity and discovers what it is that needs to be healed and which attempts permanently and radically to deal with it.

And so, also, Christianity alone knows what the salvation is which men require, and makes provision for it. In Christianity salvation is salvation from the power and presence of sin, as well as from its guilt and shame. Its end is holy character and loving service. It is available for men here and now. In the Mohammedan conception salvation consists in deliverance from punishment, and deliverance not by redemption and the sacrifice of love, but by God's absolute sovereignty. The Hindu idea of salvation is to escape from the sufferings incident to life, to be liberated from personal, conscious existence, and this liberation is to be won by the way of knowledge, knowledge being the recognition of the soul's essential identity with Brahma, the impersonal God, or by the way of devotion, devotion being not faith in a God who works for the soul, but the maintenance by the soul of a saving attitude of mind towards the deity chosen to be worshipped. This is actual Hinduism, not the nobler doctrine of the Vedas. In Buddhism salvation is the extinction of existence. Indeed, there is no soul recognized by pure Buddhism. There is only the Karma, or character, which survives, and every man must work out his own Karma unaided. "By one's self," it is written in the Dhammapada, "the evil is done; by one's self one suffers; by one's self evil is left undone; by one's self one is purified. Lo, no man can purify another." The best Northern Buddhism draws near-

est to Christianity in its conception of a salvation by faith in Amitaba Buddha, but even here the salvation is release from the necessity of continued rebirths, not a creation of new character for human service in Divine loyalty. Confucianism has no doctrine of salvation. The Chinese soul has had to turn, in the attempt to satisfy its needs, to other teachers. In its ideal and offer of salvation Christianity stands alone. (Kellogg, "Comparative Religion," Chapters IV, V.)

5. Christianity is the only religion which is at once historical, progressive and spiritually free. Therefore, it is the only religion which can claim universal dominion. Each religion of the world has filled a place in history, but Mohammedanism is the only one whose historical facts are essential to it, and, as Bishop Westcott says:

"Christianity is historical not simply in the sense in which, for example, Mohammedanism is historical, because the facts connected with the origin and growth of this religion, with the personality and life of the Founder, with the experience and growth of His doctrine, can be traced in documents which are adequate to assure belief; but in a far different sense also. It is historical as crowning a long period of religious training which was accomplished under the influence of Divine facts; it is historical as brought out in all its fullness from age to age in an outward society by the action of the Spirit of God; but above all, and most characteristically, it is historical because the revelation which it brings is of life and in life. The history of Christ is the Gospel in its light and in its power. His teaching is Himself, and nothing apart from Himself; what He is and what He does. The earliest creed—the creed of baptism—is the affirmation of facts which include all doctrine.

"Dogmatic systems may change, and have changed so far as they reflect transitory phases of speculative thought, but the primitive Gospel is unchangeable as it is inexhaustible. There can be no addition to it. It contains in itself all that will be slowly wrought out in thought and deed until the consummation.

"In this sense, Christianity is the only historical religion. The message which it proclaims is wholly unique. Christ said, I am—not I declare, or I lay open, or I point to, but I am—the way, the truth and the life."

6. The ethical uniqueness of Christianity entitles it to absorb and displace all other religions. It alone makes the moral character of God the central and transcendent thing. Judged by its God, no other gods are really good. It alone presents a perfect ethical ideal for the individual and it alone possesses a social ethic adequate for a true national life and for a world society. It is preëminently the ethical religion. All its values are moral values. All the best life of Christian lands is an effort to embody the Christian ethics in life, and those ethics shelter absolutely none of the evil of Christian lands. "There is hardly a more trustworthy sign and a safer criterion of the civilization of a people," says the anthropologist Waitz, "than the degree in which the demands of a pure morality are supported by their religion and are interwoven with their religious life." And this is the true test of religions also. Do they supply men with perfect moral ideals? Do they condemn evil and refuse to allow evil to shelter itself under religious sanction? On one or both of these issues every non-Christian religion breaks down. There is much worthy moral teaching in each of the non-Christian religions, but

the Koran enjoined the enslavement of the women and children of unbelievers conquered in battle, and authorized unlimited concubinage, and its sanction of polygamy cannot be defended as in the interest of morality. "Polygamy," said Dr. Henry H. Jessup, "has not diminished licentiousness among Mohammedans." Even in the Vedas there are passages which are morally debarred from publication. "I dare not give and you dare not print," wrote the Rev. S. Williams, "the ipsissima verba of an English version of the original Yaiar Veda Mantras" (*Indian Evangelical Review,* January, 1891). In the Bhagavata Purana the character of the god Krishna is distinguished by licentiousness. And worst of all in the Hindu ethics, even in the Bhagavadgita, it is taught that actions in themselves do not defile one, if only they are performed in the state of mind enjoined in the poem. While Buddha and Confucianist ethics are deficient in active benevolence and human service. "Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect," is a conception peculiar to Christianity.

7. Christianity is the final and absolute religion, because it contains all the good and truth that can be found in any other religion, and presents it to men in its Divine fullness, while other religions have none but partial good; because it is free from the evils which are found in all other religions, and because it alone can satisfy all the needs of the human heart and of the human race. It is the one true religion. We are glad to find any outreach after truth in other religions which shows that the hearts of those who hold them are made for that truth and capable of receiving it in its perfect form in Christianity. Christianity is final, because there is no good beyond it and no evil in it,

and because it cleanses and crowns all the life and thought of man. It is the end of all men's quest. "I maintain," says Tiele, "that the appearance of Christianity inaugurated an entirely new epoch in the development of religion; that all the streams of the religious life of man, once separate, unite in it; and that religious development will henceforth consist in an ever higher realization of the principles of that religion." And Christianity is absolute as well as final; that is, it fills the field. There can be nothing higher or better. There can be nothing else in the same class. As Bishop Westcott said:

"A perfect religion—a religion which offers a complete satisfaction to the religious wants of men—must be able to meet the religious wants of the individual, the society, the race, in complete course of their development and in the manifold intensity of each separate human faculty.

"This being so, I contend that the faith in Christ, born, crucified, risen, ascended, forms the basis of this perfect religion; that it is able, in virtue of its essential character, to bring peace in view of the problems of life, under every variety of circumstance and character—to illuminate, to develop, and to inspire every human faculty. My contention rests upon the recognition of two marks by which Christianity is distinguished from every other religion. It is absolute and it is historical.

"On the one side, Christianity is not confined by any limits of place, or time, or faculty, or object. It reaches to the whole sum of being and to the whole of each separate existence. On the other side, it offers its revelation in facts which are an actual part of human experience, so that the peculiar teaching which it brings as to the nature and relations of God and man and the world is simply the interpretation of events in the life of men and in the life

of One who was truly Man. It is not a theory, a splendid guess, but a proclamation of facts.

"These, I repeat, are its original, its unalterable claims. Christianity is absolute. It claims, as it was set forth by the apostles, though the grandeur of the claim was soon obscured, to reach all men, all time, all creation; it claims to effect the perfection no less than the redemption of finite being; it claims to bring a perfect unity of humanity without destroying the personality of any one man; it claims to deal with all that is external as well as all that is internal, with matter as well as with spirit, with the physical universe as well as with the moral universe; it claims to realize a re-creation co-extensive with creation; it claims to present Him who was the Maker of the world, as the Heir of all things; it claims to complete the cycle of existence, and show how all things come from God and go to God."

As absolute, it must displace all that is partial or false. It must conquer the world. The people who have it must be a missionary people.

This is the solemn duty with which we are charged by our personal experience of the treasure that is in Christ, and this is the solemn duty with which any true comparison of Christianity with the world religions confronts us. Alike from the look within and from the look without we arise with a clear understanding of the missionary character of the religion that bears the name of Christ.

The attitude of that religion, as Dr. Clark says, is "not one of compromise, but one of conflict and of conquest. It proposes to displace the other religions. The claim of Jeremiah is the claim of Christianity: 'The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, they shall perish from the earth and from under

the heavens.' The survival of the Creator, joyfully foreseen, is the ground of its confidence and its endeavour. Christianity thus undertakes a long and laborious campaign, in which it must experience various fortunes and learn patience from trials and delays; but the true state of the case must not be forgotten, namely, that Christianity sets out for victory. The intention to conquer is characteristic of the Gospel. This was the aim of its youth when it went forth among the religions that then surrounded it, and with this aim it must enter any field in which old religions are encumbering the religious nature of man. It cannot conquer except in love, but in love it intends to conquer. It means to fill the world." It must do so in order that the nations may have their Desire and the world its Light and that Hope may be fulfilled.

LECTURE II

SOME CHANGES IN ASIA DURING THE PAST GENERATION

A GENERATION ago the orthodox view of Asia was that its life was closed and its history done. The authoritative writers of history and the even more authoritative writers of fiction and poetry declared that, whatever might happen to the rest of the world, Asia had gone to sleep and would never wake. Asia was "The Unchanging East." The politicians who were best informed as to facts and most assured in their judgments could not conceive of it otherwise. Mr. Curzon and Mr. Norman, as they were then, in "Peoples and Politics of the Far East" and "Problems of the Far East," applied with confidence to these peoples, especially the people of China the couplet

> "Aloof from our mutations and unrest
> Alien to our achievements and desires."

Their opinion was identical with Matthew Arnold's. To him, in "Obermann Once More," the East was the wise philosopher, wrapped in his thoughts, who lifted his head to see the restless West go by and let it go.

> "The East bow'd low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again."

This view was set forth with great ability and knowledge by Mr. Meredith Townsend in "Asia and Europe." Mr. Townsend was as competent as any man in the world to judge Asia wisely. He had lived for years in India where he succeeded Dr. George Smith as editor of *The Friend in India,* and then removed to London where he followed Richard Holt Hutton as editor of *The Spectator.* In the chapters of his fascinating book Mr. Townsend set forth over and over again his fundamental thesis. It will be best to state it in his own words:

"Some strange fiat of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the brown men and the yellow men to eternal reproduction of old ideas."

"The grand whip—hunger renewed every twenty-four hours—by which it pleased Providence to impart energy to the human race, is borne in Asia contentedly, and produces instead of murmurs a ceaseless industry, monotonous indeed, but of which no one ever complains. If it be the end of systems of life to produce contented acquiescence the Asiatic systems must be held to have succeeded."

"As yet there is no sign that the British are accomplishing more than the Romans accomplished in Britain, that they will spread any permanently successful ideas, or that they will found anything whatever. It is still true that if they departed or were driven out they would leave behind them, as the Romans did in Britain, splendid roads, many useless buildings, an increased weakness in the subject people, and a memory which in a century of new events would be extinct."

"I do not think that any one, whether he is thoughtful statesman like Sir Alfred Lyall, or poet like Rudyard Kipling, with insight into the East, or average administrator, English or Russian, will deny for a moment that the

separateness exists, that East and West, brown man and white man, are at present separated by a gulf of thoughts, aspirations *and conclusions*, and where is the evidence that the gulf is closing up?"

"At some period, probably not long distant, they will, as they always have done, throw out the white men, not because they are oppressors, not because they are inferiors, but because they are intruders whose ideas they neither accept nor can endure."

"Something radical, something unalterable and indestructible, divides the Asiatic from the European."

"On the other hand, with these great gifts the brown man has also great incapacities. The power of accumulating thought, which he derives from his trace of white blood, is easily and early exhausted, and when it is exhausted his progress is finally arrested; he stereotypes his society, and his brain seems paralyzed by self-conceit. For three thousand years he has made no new conquest over Nature, carried science no higher, developed no new and fructifying social idea, invented no new scheme of life."

"The space between the races is not made by any social habit, but by an inherent antipathy, which is not hatred, but can at any moment blaze up into it."

"India, therefore, will fly in pieces; the ancient hostilities of race, and creed, and history, none of which we have had time to extinguish, will revive at once; and life will again be made interesting as of old by incessant wars, invasions and struggles for personal ascendancy. The railways, the only things we have built, will be torn up, the universities will be scouted by military rulers, the population will begin to decline, and, in short, for one word expresses it all, India will once more be Asiatic. Within five years of our departure we shall recognize fully that the greatest experiment ever made by Europe in Asia was but an experiment after all; that the ineffaceable distinctions of race were all against it from the first; and

that the idea of the European tranquilly guiding, controlling, and perfecting the Asiatic until the worse qualities of his organization had gone out of him, though the noblest dream ever dreamed by man, was but a dream after all. Asia, which survived the Greek, and the Roman, and the Crusader, will survive also the Teuton and the Slav."

"The law of ages being clearly that Europeans and Asiatics and Africans will not, unless coerced by irresistible circumstances, work in continuous harmony together" (Townsend, "Asia and Europe," pp. 9, 12, 27, 28, 38, 50, 95, 110, 118, 344).

This was a generation ago the view of the authoritative guides of opinion. Never did wise men more completely misjudge the course of history. Asia was not sleeping. She was waking. The same tides of life that have moved the rest of the world have moved her and borne her on at least as fast as they have borne the West. It might even be maintained that they have borne her faster. In intellectual ideas and in economic development Asia has had to pass in one generation over the road which the West has had centuries to travel. It may be well to set down some of the evidence of this change. A generation or even a decade from now Asia will have gone so fast and so far that any summary of the present will seem very primitive and remote, but it may be all the more worth while to set up such a landmark. And from the point of view of missions the fact of the changed world and the part of missions in changing it are valuable and adequate refutation of the old and still continuing fallacy that all effort to change the world and bring in different and better days is wasted and futile endeavour. This was the constant objection to missions

in the earlier years. "Young man," a ship captain is declared to have said to one of the pioneer Protestant missionaries to China, "do you think you can make any impression on that nation? You might as well attempt to break a cannon ball with a tack hammer."

All that is proposed here is to summarize in mere outline a few of the surface and also some of the deeper changes which any traveller to Asia during the last generation would observe for himself. I have had three opportunities for this observation, one in 1896–97, just as this generation was beginning in Asia, a second in 1915 at the beginning of the World War, and a third in 1921–22 when the war was over and its first effects could be seen.

One of the first and most obvious changes has been in means of transportation and communication. When the generation began there were no railroads in Korea, the Philippine Islands, Siam, Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia or Persia, and only one small line in China. We walked through Korea on foot in the summer of 1897, meeting on the way down from Seoul to Chemulpo a lanky engineer from Kentucky who was building the embankment for the first railroad from Seoul to the sea. In 1923 there were 1,435 miles of railroad in Korea, a broad gauge main line reaching from Fusan on the Straits, a night ferry ride from Shimonoseki, to the Tatong River, the boundary between Korea and Manchuria, with feeder lines running out to east and west. Then there was in all China only the short road of 120 miles from Taku, the port of Tientsin, to Peking, where the road was not allowed to pierce even the outer wall to enter the city. There had been another little road of a few miles from Wosung to Shanghai but it was believed that it dis-

turbed the fung-shui and troubled the spirits and the Dragon, and a devout Chinaman is alleged to have bought the road and destroyed it. In 1921 there were 7,091 miles of railway (exclusive of Manchuria), with many more projected, which will be built in the sure day when there is order in China again. Thirty years ago in Siam the only means of inland travel was by boat on the rivers propelled by man power, or by pony or elephant over the jungle trails. It required three months to go from Bangkok to Chiengmai and it would have taken many more months to go overland south from Bangkok to Singapore. Now one can go by train from Singapore up the Malay Peninsula to Bangkok in three days and from Bangkok to Chiengmai north in two days, while the aeroplane carries the mail into Chiengmai from Bangkok two afternoons each week.

There was not a mile of railroad or of automobile road in Mesopotamia in 1896. It took us three weeks to ride on horseback over unspeakable trails in winter time from Kermanshah to Bagdad. Now there are railways from Busra, at the head of ocean-going navigation on the Shat-el-Arab, to Bagdad and from Bagdad running north to Shorgat, ninety miles south of Mosul or Nineveh, and running northeast to Khanikin on the Persian frontier. And motor cars are running now from Beirut to Teheran in five days. A car recently came into Beirut in sixteen hours from Bagdad, a journey which no doubt cost Abraham as many months. And the shops and supply stores of the lower Mesopotamia railway are at Abraham's old home now marked by a great sign, "Ur Junction." In the Caucasus, thirty years ago, there was no railway to the Persian border. We left the train at Tiflis or at

Akstafa and travelled by horseback or diligence. Now from Tiflis the railroads which Russia built run down to Erivan and the Aras River and on into Tabriz in Persia, and westward to Alexandropol and Kars. I have spoken only of changes which I have seen. They are not mere material changes. They have a deep social and spiritual significance. These are highways not for travel only but also for ideas, sympathies, communities of life.

In industrial development, also, Asia is passing forward, for good or ill, out of the old pastoral and household industry life into the complexity of modern machinery civilization. In Japan in 1895 the cotton industry was just beginning. Now there are 247 mills with 68,579 looms and 3,125,000 spindles. Then there were in Shanghai practically no mills or silk filatures. Now there are 11,202 looms and 1,715,005 spindles and sixty-eight silk filatures. In 1895 in India the machine manufacture of cloth and the production of iron and steel were just beginning. Now there are in India 333 textile mills with an annual product of 719,000,000 pounds of cotton yarn and 1,970,466,000 square yards of cotton cloth. The product of jute in 1923–24 was 5,058,000 bales and of wool 60,000,000 pounds. And the big Tata iron and steel works at Jamshedpur which were begun about twenty years ago are now turning out annually 552,000 tons of pig iron and 370,000 tons of steel ingots. The day of agricultural machinery in Asia is only just beginning. In 1895 there was not a modern agricultural implement in Mesopotamia. In 1922 I saw two long freight trains near Babylon loaded with modern machinery from Racine, Wisconsin, to be used on the new experimental farms. The traces of the old irriga-

tion works can be found far and wide between the Tigris and Euphrates. Engineers believe that they can be reconstructed and that Mesopotamia can once again become one of the great granaries of the world. In our modern world nothing is more powerful in its influence than oil. And, as everywhere, the development of the oil fields is affecting also, for good or ill, great areas of Asia. Where thirty years ago one saw only crude reed huts and naked children by the side of the Shat-el-Arab, there are to be seen now the stacks and tanks and docks of Abadan, the great port of the Anglo–Persian Oil Company, whose pipe lines from Persia bring the oil down to be loaded on ships at Abadan for the markets of all western Asia. This Persian oil field was untouched a generation ago. At Gayara, near Mosul, the first oil developments were beginning in 1922 and the location of the Indian troops near by told its own tale, whatever that tale was. It used to be urged against missions that we had no right to intrude upon Asia to disturb its old ways. Industry and commerce have had no hesitation in the matter, and the powerful political pressure of the West has been behind their expansion. It is certain that what we now see is only the beginning of a colossal industrial change.

A few of the great cities of Asia are still much as they have been in the past. Teheran and Ispahan and Samarcand and Merv are little changed from what they were, and Lahore and Madras and Benares and Ningpo and Nanking not so very much more. But Peking and Canton, Shanghai and Hankow, Tokyo and Osaka, Calcutta and Bombay and Cawnpore, Bagdad and Tabriz are changing as fast as any cities in the West. When I first visited Shanghai I stayed

with Dr. Farnham in his house beyond the city limits near the Rifle Range. Now the city has grown far beyond Range Road and his house is in the center of it, while the wall of the old Chinese city has been torn down for a boulevard and tramway. Broad roads have been driven through Peking. The Forbidden City has been opened. New gates and railways pierce the old walls. At Canton a great bund has pressed out into the river, quadrupling real estate values. Modern factories and factory settlements have arisen with modern buildings in Shanghai and Canton and in the heavenly cities of Soochow and Hangchow, and a huge plant for preparing meat and eggs for shipment has risen at Nanking. In Japan, even before the earthquake, Tokyo had become a new city, growing from 1,155,290 in 1891 to 2,173,201 in 1920 and Osaka had changed yet more. From a quiet city of 487,184 in 1895 it has become in thirty years the great commercial and manufacturing city of Japan with a population of 1,431,500. The Manila of to-day is a wholly different city from the Manila of yesterday.

One is glad to pause here to recognize the influences which have wrought this change in Manila in less than one generation. At the southwestern corner of the old walled city of Manila, beyond the sunken gardens which were once the moat of the city and near the little park of Luneta, looking out upon the sea stand two monuments. One is in memory of the two great forces which shaped the life and history of the Philippine Islands for four hundred years. It consists of a heavy pedestal on which stands a cross upheld on one side by Urdaneta and on the other by Legaspi, the priest and the soldier who began the rule of the Roman Church and of Spain on the Island of Luzon. The

other monument is in memory of Rizal, the Filipino patriot, shot as a revolutionist in 1896, whose protests against the ancient order of injustice were the forerunners of the new day that has dawned. His statue stands in almost every city in the Philippines and the very mention of his name brings an almost quivering silence to the best young life of the islands to-day. And who erected these two monuments? Neither the Roman Church nor the Spanish government nor the party of the revolutionists. The American government reared them in candid recognition of all that has been worthy in the past and in fearless acknowledgment of the spirit of liberty. And it is this desire honestly to deal with facts and unselfishly to advance the true interests of the people which the traveller coming to the Philippines from Siam and the Straits Settlements feels at once as a fresh and exhilarating thing, because the acceptance of facts includes the great fact that facts can be changed for the better and the true interests of the people are conceived to include their admission to every intellectual and political privilege and their development in true freedom and self-government.

Wherever men mingle there will be collisions of interest and of will, and no great human problem like this of the Philippine Islands can be worked out by smooth handwriting on a piece of paper. It can only be worked in the actual arena of life by sympathies that can be patient and tolerant because they are organic. And no one can come sufficiently into contact with the problem to feel the complexity and living movement of it without coming away with greatly increased assurance and hope. What Manila is now, what has been done for it, and the forces that are

moving in it and in the islands justify new hope for every place and for every people.

"This is a beautiful city," I said to a young Filipino with whom I was going about one afternoon. "Yes," said he, "it is now, but it was not a few years ago." He was saying nothing more either in depreciation of the past or in praise of the present. He was simply recognizing the fact that a great service had been wrought and that the service was not yet complete. Let any one go to Manila and talk to the Governor or to any of the men, American or Filipino, who are carrying the real responsibilities of the Islands and let him look at the public improvements of the city, sewerage, water, lighting, roads, police, penal institutions, schools, hospitals, and if he does not feel proud of what his country has done and grateful for the opportunity which has been given it, and friendly from the bottom of his heart with the people of these Islands and with their struggles and aspirations, he lacks the capacity of either an inter-racial or a racial patriotism.

In India industry is transforming, not altogether for good, the character of city after city. The mill sections of Calcutta and Bombay have come almost wholly into being since 1895. At that time in Cawnpore, the great industrial center of northern India there were, I believe, no mills. Now there is the largest mill in India with 3,000 employees.

Even Bagdad is losing some of its old character. When we rode in on horseback thirty years ago it was through miles of covered bazaars. Now, the bazaars are still there, but there are also wide thoroughfares, modern buildings, automobiles, while bridges cross the yellow Tigris which in those days was crossed only

by boat or the round bowl-shaped gufas. The old order can never come back again. It is a different world that has begun in the cities of Asia.

The English language has penetrated and diffused itself steadily throughout the generation. It is all that French used to be and far more. On almost all the through trains on Asiatic railways, one travels with native officials who understand English. More people speak English now in the Philippine Islands after twenty-five years of American administration than spoke Spanish after four hundred years of Spanish rule. English is taught in some, at least, of the government schools in almost every Asiatic land. In the dawn of early morning in a tent on the Persian frontier an officer who took our passports gave them back with grateful praise in English of the mission school where he had been taught. English speaking native chauffeurs, one of whom had worked in a Chicago garage, drove us in old Ford cars over the roads of Irak or past the inscription of Darius on the rocks at Beseitun or down the valley of the Shahroud. Not far from the edge of Asia, in a shop under the Acropolis at Athens, a friendly Greek who said that he was Tony Calimares inquired in intelligible English if we knew his friend Tom Kush in New York. Even Mr. Gandhi when he would denounce the use of English by his countrymen in India and exhort them to adhere to the vernaculars of India, does so in the English language.

The system of modern education in China is a development of this generation. In 1895 the old system was still in force with its competitive examinations in the ancient Classics. Now the old halls are gone and the Classics themselves in danger of being forgotten.

In Japan the number of children in the public schools has grown from 3,725,000 to 10,243,217 in thirty-five years. The whole school system of the Philippines is the creation of twenty-five years, with its 28,665 teachers and 1,204,217 pupils. In India from 1891 to 1921, to choose the census years, the literate males increased from ninety to one hundred and thirty per thousand; the number of educational institutions from 139,215 to 169,226 and of scholars from 3,729,555 to 8,381,401. In Christian missions since 1891 the number of educational institutions has grown from 11,164 to 49,426 and of pupils from 558,417 to 2,440,148. These missions did not have a single university in China in 1895. Now they have seven, and their schools are crowded in every land in Asia except Turkey, which is harming herself by hindering them.

It is interesting to note the situation, at the end of the generation, of each of the three great commercial powers, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, as compared with the beginning. Then German influence was everywhere, and the ultimate commercial supremacy of Germany seemed to be assured. One met the German flag on all waters and the German banks and commercial houses were in every port. In 1915, before the war had swallowed up the whole world, one still saw the fleets of German boats interned in Manila and Bangkok. When the war ended, the German flag had disappeared. In 1921, I saw it only once in one Asiatic port. In Hongkong the old Weissman's Restaurant was gone and in its place a new Anglicized sign hung over the door—" Wiseman's Restaurant." Already Germany is regaining much of what was lost but the generation saw her power rise almost to the commanding place and then collapse. It

would have to be recognized also in any careful, dispassionate survey, that a shadow passed during the generation over the ascendancy of Great Britain. It might be difficult to appraise the facts as to eastern Asia but certainly in southern and western Asia the feeling towards Great Britain at the end of the generation was less friendly than at the beginning.

The unrest of Indian Nationalism had come bringing with it as its unhappy accompaniment not only the longing for autonomy, which is desirable, but a distrust of the justice of Great Britain. No doubt much of this distrust was rhetorical. The men who uttered it would have been the first to desire to be tried, if indicted, by British judges and in British courts. But in many breasts it was as honest as it was lamentable. On the whitewashed railroad station wall at Londa in the Western Ghats we read in a schoolboy's hand, "We pray God to ruin the English who are injustice." And Mr. Gandhi's saddest words are his repudiation of his old faith in British justice and honour. In Persia, also, thanks, as in India, in some measure, to Lord Curzon's spirit and policies, good-will and trust had turned to suspicion and fear. We are here only recording, not judging, these changes of the generation. They temporarily eclipsed the influence of Germany and qualified Great Britain's, and they brought the United States into a new place.

In 1895 we saw the American flag only once from England to China. It was flying over the Mission in Basra. And the American consul in Bagdad on whom we called was, I believe, a German Swiss. On the frontier between Persia and Turkey we were held up by quarantine and for a long time the officials doubted our passports, some of them having never seen Ameri-

can passports before nor heard of the United States. At the end of the generation almost the first organization we encountered was the American Rotary Club in Shanghai and we came out of Asia through the anarchy of the Caucasus in a freight box car with our chief protection a little American flag and the good name of the Near East Relief. Nakchevan was then a den of thieves and at night we heard our box-car door slide a bit as they prowled about. Our Armenian companion who slept across the doorway raised himself on his elbow to say quietly, "There are Americans here," and with hurried words of apology the intruders passed on. In the village of Abbas-ujan in northwestern Persia the governor of the district came to call. His first desire was to consult the medical missionary with whom we were travelling. Then he turned to speak of Persia. Did he see any hope for his country, I asked him. "Yes," he replied, "I see one. If we could find some strong and unselfish nation which would help us by showing the way, we would go forward. For we are not a hopeless people." But was there such a nation in the world? "Yes," he said, "there is one, America. She is strong enough to do anything and she wants nothing from other nations. If only America would come!"

One could multiply indefinitely the illustrations of the pathetic idealization of America which one met across Asia at the end of the war. Some of it is gone now, but there would still be time to validate it if, by a truly unselfish use of our strength, we would help those who want help and whose prosperity and peace would bless and enrich the whole world.

Deeper than all individual and political changes in Asia, such as the overthrow of the empire and the

establishment of a republic in China, and the victory of Japan in the war with Russia, and the upheaval of Turkey, are the changes of thought underlying all other changes. Of the many such changes I would speak here of only four.

(1) The conception of democracy. No doubt the conception is confused and some of that which we see is the new that is not true, and some of it is the true which is not new, but much of it is both new and true. On a lower level we see the truth of Christ's declaration that words may be spirit and life. The word "democracy" carried over bodily into Japanese and translated into other tongues, and phrases about "self-determination" and "the rights of minorities" have become full of dynamic vitality in Asia. One illustration will do as well as a hundred. It is an address presented to us in the winter of 1921–22 in India by the out-caste Christian community in the village of Phoriwal in the Punjab, at one of their special community gatherings. The address was written by Rev. Henry Goloknath of Jullundur and read in Punjabi by one of the Indian evangelists while the Mohammedan land owners of the village listened in breathless amazement to this fearless utterance from the spokesman of the people who for centuries had endured their lot of serfdom without murmur of complaint or of aspiration. This was the address:

"We welcome you, Sir, with a shout of cheer.

"We express our appreciation of what has been and is being done by your Mission towards our uplift. We with others of the unfortunate class who are condemned as untouchables, constitute one-sixth of the whole population or say six crores, or sixty millions all told. We are

counted low, based not on the natural standard of personal qualities but on the accident of birth. We are thus condemned to live the low life of utter wretchedness, servitude, and mental and moral degradation. The forces of custom, religion, and social prejudice have deprived us of equality of opportunity to enjoy the good things of the world. We are deprived of public service, free use of tanks or public works, or inns or temples. We are handicapped in business and work through untouchability. We are deprived of the benefit of civilization, the solace of education and society. We are deprived of all those accessories which are indispensable in a social organization, such as the services of a barber, washerman and so forth. We are regarded for all purposes of national self-interest with them, but for purposes of caste, not of them.

"Thanks to the efforts of Christian Missions and thanks to the gospel of touchability by love as taught and lived by our Lord and Saviour, self-respect is awakened in us, and we resent deeply the treatment meted out to us by caste-ruled men. We are beginning to be restless, to be no longer content with our present lot which is galling in the extreme, and we refuse to acquiesce in environment not of our making, but in which we find ourselves to be. We want to progress with the tide in the affairs of men, and which waits for nobody. For purposes of preservation of society, caste may have achieved something, but in caste system we are doomed forever to a life of bondage and serfdom. For purposes of progress we have come out of caste, for it is unsuitable to progress, thanks again for the God-sent deliverer from bondage, namely, your Christian Mission to this country. We appreciate and are grateful for what it has done and is doing for our uplift. Habits of self-respect and cleanliness have come to us, and so also an interest for education of our children and for self-improvement. In our efforts to improve ourselves, the spirit of antagonism shows itself in villages

where we reside. Even here, where we are met on such a happy occasion when you, Sir, and your party and others have made common cause with us, we are looked at by the villagers with suspicious rather than friendly eyes, as encroachers on vested rights, and as opponents of Privilege and Exclusiveness. But Christianity has taught us to respect ourselves as human beings, and therefore we want to be led to higher planes of life and to nobler pursuits. Christianity having pointed the way, and given us the truth regarding ourselves, even as we are grovelling in the dark and in the lowest ditch, our dead bones in the valley are becoming instinct with life.

"We are done with grovelling at the foot of the social, intellectual and moral and material ladder of life. Our children must be trained and educated, and made vital parts of the social organism, and not as at present the isolated and dead parts of the same. Now is come at once a challenge and opportunity to save us from this caste tyranny of ages, and give us a life in the scale of humanity. We send forth a strong appeal to you, as representative of the great and living Church of America to take advantage of our mass movement towards Christianity which like the tide is flowing full in this district and elsewhere, and undertake to educate and train our children in useful vocations. We need medical relief; we need to be taught ideas of cleanliness and hygiene. Help us to remove our gross ignorance. We have found God, and we want to find ourselves. In the district there is already a baptized Christian community of 4,000. We are trying to be cleaner and more decent in our persons and homes. We are giving up vices to which we are addicted. We are gradually substituting Christian marriage and other practices, and displacing heathenish practices. Our Panchayats are becoming more and more a power for good. But we are handicapped in many ways and we need your help. Some of our men, in other districts of the Punjab, in view of equal opportunity for all,

have stood their own and have acquitted themselves as men, and are holding influential positions in life. We too have been sending our boys to your Boarding Schools; others are studying in village schools; and the percentage of literacy is on the increase. We need vocational and industrial schools, and we are willing to contribute our mite towards our children's education in this district.

" We employed a man from our own class some months ago to teach village Christian children. He is now sent with his wife to the five-months teachers' course in Moga, and we are meeting the cost of his maintenance in that school. Other non-Christian communities are now up and doing, who see in our conversion to Christianity the serious depletion of vital blood from the Hindu organism. Shudi or purification work is now started by Arya Samajists and the Sikhs. All-India-Shudi Sabha has been established. It has inaugurated day and night schools and lectureships; and a medical mission is maintained for the benefit of the depressed classes. Those communities are actuated more by National self-interest and consideration of self-preservation than by humanitarian considerations. The percentage of literacy of the total population of India can be between fifteen and twenty per cent. It was five per cent. in 1901. When such is the progress of literacy in the whole of India among the higher classes during all these years, how can it be expected that they would undertake to educate us, labouring as we do even now under serious limitations and disabilities. Besides, we are so poor that in our families each woman and child, boy or girl, has to be wage earning. It is a tremendous effort of sacrifice of both time and money on our people to undertake to educate our children, but in spite of this we are doing all we can.

" Government has not stood by us in any practical way. It has asserted the equality of men under the law, and it maintains order, but it has not provided means of progress for the depressed communities. The declared policy of

neutrality on the part of Government in our case cuts both ways. It will not interfere with the religious and social customs of India, and yet, Sir, those customs are a dead weight resting on our breasts. Under their weight no progress is possible from either within or without. Government is concerned with providing education for higher classes alone. It has not attempted to remove or abolish social disabilities. It has not moved as yet to open special schools for us. In schools that are opened to Hindus and Mohammedans the parents do not like their children to study side by side with our children; and those of our children who are attending village schools are made to sit apart from others, which makes our children feel that they are of commoner clay than their neighbours. In spite of such indignities our children go on studying, small in number as they are.

"The tyranny of custom is being felt more and more. The Christian Mission alone stands the chance of removing our disabilities. It is true that Chamars, Ramdasias and Rahtias of the Punjab have not as yet moved towards Christianity, but it is due to the fact that the modern movements of new sects in India have allowed, with a thin veneer of their own special teachings, side by side the primitive beliefs of the depressed classes to exist. They are tolerant of the superstitions and primitive practices; but Christianity is from the first intolerant of a mixture with it of other faiths. It weans its votaries from untruth and superstitions. Hence the mass movement among them has not as yet taken root. But once give us education and Christian enlightenment, improve our character and help us towards our own uplift, and we will soon appear as an object lesson to follow. Education will not pauperize us, but rather it would lead us on to new ideas of the value and the possibility of progress and create in us the feeling of self-help and self-respect.

"With these remarks we close and now wish you Godspeed in your arduous undertaking in India, and safe

voyage home; and we humbly request you to convey our message of hope to the good and generous people of America that they may continue to be as ever in the forefront of the Christian and humanitarian work in India and elsewhere, because we too join in hope and prayer that in due time they will see the groaning of the spirit and the travail of their zealous yearning for us give place to joy in sight of the birth of a Christian nation in India."

This is one of the first tremors of a revolutionary upheaval. The past generation has seen this leaven pervade the life of Asia.

(2) The rights of women. In the old days women were left uneducated and inadequately protected under the law. In India in 1891 only four women out of a thousand were literate and in China it was estimated that the number was only one. Much may be truly said of the influence which women wielded in Asia but the Koran and the Code of Manu are indisputable evidence of what her position actually was. But the awakening has begun. These thirty years have seen no deeper change than has been registered in the matter of the status and power of women. Colleges for women have been established, chiefly by missions, offering women equal education with men. Women are lifting the purdah and laying aside the veil. They have begun the greatest social change in history. No one can predict its consequences. One-half of society, the more powerful half, the half which controls the future, is at last claiming its rights, those rights which are essential to it if it is to fulfill its duties.

(3) The school of world distrust. The generation has seen a great increase of the common life and intercourse of humanity and at the same time a pitiful

growth in the petty checks and impediments laid on this common intercourse. It is harder to move about over the world freely now than it was thirty years ago. All kinds of expensive and vexatious and futile regulations now embarrass international travel. The Western nations have invented these follies, but all the world goes to school and learns the lessons. There is a line in Chesterton's "Ballad of the White Horse" about "the plunging of the nations in the night." It is a night of distrust and fear that we have produced. And fear, as always, brings with it waste and torment. The world is needlessly fretting itself to-day with its own self-imposed galls and impediments.

(4) The idea of religious freedom and tolerance. In spite of all that the war did to threaten the fundamental human liberties, the generation steadily advanced in its recognition of the principle of freedom of worship and religious opinion. Here, too, one concrete illustration from a land where Islam in theory annuls absolutely this principle, will be as good as the hundred that might be produced from Asia. In November, 1896, Dr. Coan of Urumia and I made a chappar journey from Hamadan to visit the missionaries in Teheran. We rode post horses eastward from Hamadan as long as they were obtainable, changing horses at the end of each three hours and covering between seventy and a hundred miles a day. At the end of the third day post horses were no longer available, and we covered the last stage to Saveh, where we joined the great carriage road running from Teheran to Kum, in a rough cart drawn by one big horse between the shafts and a little horse hitched outside the shaft by ropes. The driver of this equipage assured us that our troubles would be at an end when

we reached Saveh at noon, for there the post diligence from the south to the capital would be waiting for us, "And once you are on board," said he, "it will travel like a flame."

The flame-like diligence was not waiting, but it toiled in at midnight. It was a covered Russian forgan very much like the prairie schooner of the old days in the West. It was loaded with bags and mail parcels, leaving but a scanty open space between the cargo and the wooden ribs over which the canvas top was spread. It had already a good complement of passengers, including three sayids, descendants of Mohammed. They were somewhat dandified young men, wearing, beside the green sashes that marked their order, nice camel hair abbas and rather dainty heelless slippers. They made it plain at once that we were no welcome addition to their company, and they set up a barrier of luggage across the wagon, leaving Dr. Coan and me an isolated section of our own at the rear.

The next day we encountered snow and heavy storms which almost blocked the road. I remember our finding one poor traveller dead by the roadside, lying cold and stiff in the snow. For hours we trudged along in the cold and wet, stopping in the roadside tea houses as we came to them for a few moments of warmth and shelter. We were all caught in one common misery, but our Mohammedan friends made it plain that even in misery there was to be no community with us. We were bad enough dry, but our wet infidelity was doubly contaminating, and they would touch no tea glasses out of which we drank, and by the tea house fires drew their cloaks about them that they might not be defiled by our touch. Neither

food nor fellowship would they share with us, and not one human courtesy did they show us. Perhaps this group possessed less of the customary kindness of the Persian heart than was usual in those days even among sayids and mollahs, but in general their attitude of intolerance and bigotry was characteristic a quarter of a century ago. No doubt there were many exceptions and even then Persian Mohammedanism was far more kindly and accessible than the Sunni Mohammedans of Turkey, but the day of toleration and religious freedom had not come.

In February, 1922, on a return journey from Meshed to Teheran, we had a very different experience. For a week we had with us as a fellow-traveller on the post-wagon a Mohammedan merchant from Meshed on his way to Teheran to buy goods. He was a very devout man. Morning, afternoon and night, when we stopped to change horses, he would wash himself, bathing his feet and washing his arms from elbow to fingers, after the Shiah fashion, and then before us all, without either shame or ostentation, say his prayers. We sat together day after day in close and friendly fellowship, sharing our food and wrapping him in our own blankets when the weather was too cold for the insufficient cloaks he had brought. One long afternoon and evening we were all drenched together by a heavy rain which ended in a fierce wind and sleet so that even the dogged old post courier, whom nothing could daunt, was forced to give in and order the wagon to lay up at the next caravanserai until the storm should abate. It turned out to be no caravanserai at all, however, but only a desolate chappar station with no accommodations. The wagon was sheltered, in a roofed passageway, and the old

courier and Dr. McDowell of Teheran who was with us wrapped themselves in their blankets and slept on the load. The three of us, however, and the merchant set out in the night to find, if we could, a tea house in which to dry out and rest. Through the whistling wind and rain and the mud and a little running stream we made our way to a closed tea house which the merchant got open for us. Then he had fires built at which he helped us to dry our wet clothes, arranged places where we could lie down for a little sleep, got tea for us with his own hands, and then insisted on carrying a pot of tea out through the stormy night to Dr. McDowell.

No mother could have been more solicitous for her children, more full of tender and loving care than the good man was for us. He was as devout a Moslem as we had met, and he lived in the most sacred city of Persia. The whole week that we were together he treated us as his brothers and friends and we said good-bye to him at last with what, I am sure, was genuine mutual affection and sincere regret that we would never meet again. As we sat together in our wet clothes around the little brazier fire in the tea house at Mehman Dust I recalled the experience of twenty-five years before in the post wagon on the Kum road. No doubt some of the difference between that experience and this was due to differences in personal character, but unquestionably also the two experiences are representative of the great change which has taken place in Persia.

There is still a long way to go in this matter but the change of the past thirty years has carried us a far distance on the right road.

All these changes which we have picked out from

the much larger number that we can discern and the vastly greater number that have taken place beyond our sight, confirm the assumption of the missionary enterprise that the world can be changed and that nothing is impossible. They also reveal the wealth of our Christian opportunity. The generation has not seen this opportunity neglected. When it began there were 3,751 foreign missionaries, 20,268 native workers and over 400,000 native Christians in Asia. Now there are 16,524 foreign missionaries, 88,635 native workers and 1,533,057 native communicants. These are the Protestant figures. One wishes that the growth had been greater. But he believes that in proportion to what has been given of life and faith the growth of the Christian Church represents the greatest change of all, and that it is only the beginning. "First the blade. Then the ear. Then the full corn in the ear."

LECTURE III

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT OF MISSIONS IN INDIA

IT is difficult to appraise justly the present social and political tendencies in any land; it is still more difficult to form a just judgment, and especially a just comparative judgment, as to religious conditions. The facts for which one is seeking are intangible. Both the witnesses and the weigher of their testimony are inevitably biased. Even neutrality in religious judgments is itself a bias. In any comparison of the present with the past the difficulty of fixing the first term of the comparison is insignificant in contrast with the difficulty of fixing the second term. Our knowledge of the actual religious conditions of any ancient period is very unsatisfactory and undependable knowledge. When we consider what opposite opinions one hears in America as to whether Christianity is gaining or losing ground, whether present conditions are better or worse than conditions a generation or a century ago, whether men are losing faith or regaining it, one can realize how much harder it is to form a right judgment in India where religion is unorganized and without statistics of its own, where there are no fixed creeds or definitions, and where almost anything may be allowed or denied the name of religion.

1. Economic conditions may be more surely grasped, and it will be best to begin with these. The

outstanding fact conditioning many of the problems of the Church is the poverty of India. The opponents of the Government compare the present with an idyllic past and hold that the masses of India are becoming ever poorer under British rule. In his 1920 "Report to Parliament," Dr. Rushbrook Williams writes:

"The evidence to the contrary is apparently very strong, even if it be indirect. The increasing popularity of railway travel, as witnessed by the ever-growing numbers of third-class passengers, would seem to indicate that more money is available, over and above the bare necessaries of life, than was previously the case. The recent greatly increased absorption of rupees, which two years ago threatened the whole currency-system of India with inconvertibility, combined with the growing employment of silver for purposes of adornment by classes of the population previously, and within living memory, accustomed to brass and iron, would seem to point in the same direction. Further, the gradual substitution of a monetary for a natural system of economy, with its accompaniments of dependence upon imported cloth, imported mineral oil and imported metal utensils for domestic purposes, would seem to show that those who advance India's claim to increasing prosperity have something more than personal prejudice upon which to base their contention. But symptoms of increasing prosperity such as have been described, cannot blind the observer to the poverty which besets masses of the Indian population—poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent because less tropical, climate of Europe. . . . As time goes on, it may be hoped that the increased development of India's resources will gradually create a *per capita* figure of wealth which will suffice for her needs as a nation. But the industrial regeneration of two hundred and forty millions of people, the majority

of whom are poor and helpless beyond Western conception, is not a matter which can be accomplished in a few years."

Primarily the problem is an agricultural problem. Dr. Williams sets this forth in his report.

"For many years to come, the prosperity of India seems destined to rest upon agriculture rather than upon industries. Three persons out of every four in India gain their livelihood directly from the soil. Hence it is that the improvement of that livelihood constitutes the readiest way of regenerating the economic life of India. . . . Great areas of land, at present either wholly unutilized or insufficiently exploited, lie ready to yield, after the application of labour, manure, and water, tons of valuable crops. Hitherto, unfortunately, it has not been found possible to expend upon scientific agriculture that amount of money which India's necessities really require. The headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture at Pusa are maintained at a cost of only 60,000 pounds; while the total expenditure of all the Provincial Departments amounted in 1919–20 to the comparatively small sum of 700,000 pounds."

It is interesting to compare these expenditures with corresponding items in America where in 1921 the National Government spent through the Department of Agriculture over $300,000,000 and the State Governments many millions in addition on agricultural research, experiment and education.

In common with all the rest of the world India has felt the trade reaction following the war, and this as well as the poverty and the agricultural backwardness of the nation has been fuel for the nationalist agita-

tion against the Government. In actual volume the imports decreased in 1920 as compared with 1914 by forty-five per cent. and the exports by nineteen per cent. Viewing the industrial facts somewhat in detail, it may be noted that India now produces about one-fourth of the world's cane sugar. It imported in 1920 94,000,000 gallons of kerosene of which forty-eight per cent. came from the United States, thirty-four per cent. from Borneo, and sixteen per cent. from Persia. So far from going back, in response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal to saucers of oil with wicks in them, India more than doubled the import of metal lamps rising from 800,000 to 1,600,000, and so far from confining herself to ox-carts brought in nine thousand motors, of which ninety-four per cent. came from the United States, as against four hundred motors in the previous year. So far from returning to home-made cotton cloth the production of piece goods showed an increase of 475,000,000 yards or forty-one per cent. as compared with the pre-war year.

"It is interesting to note," reports Dr. Williams, "as an example of the difficulty of immediately applying modern industrial ideas to India that the leather industry encounters a considerable degree of opposition, partly politically inspired, based upon the widespread abhorrence of the Hindu population for the slaughter of cows." Nevertheless India is one of the largest hide and skin producing countries in the world. It exported in 1920 raw and tanned hides valued at 36,000,000 pounds as against 19,000,000 in 1918, the United States taking the lead in buying India's raw cow hides, with over 15,000 tons. "Despite her wealth in raw materials, India is poor in industrial achievement and in several important branches of in-

dustry she is compelled to buy back the finished product to which she has contributed the raw material."

As Mr. Lowes Dickinson has pointed out, however, India is sure to be dragged along the road of organized industrialism so familiar to the West, with an all too rapid movement. Already there are in India two hundred and seventy cotton mills with 115,000 looms and 248,000 employees and seventy-six jute mills with 40,000 looms and 270,000 employees. In Cawnpore we visited the great Muir Mills, a third of whose capital is held by Indians, which employ 3,000 workmen and are said to have paid in one recent year dividends of one hundred and fifteen per cent. Unaffected by the swadeshi movement they were selling all of their product in India, eighty per cent. of it in the native bazaars. A large and increasing volume of Indian capital is going annually into industrial and manufacturing enterprises.

2. The great economic problem of India is not the lack of raw materials nor of capital. The industrial potentialities of India in these respects are only beginning to be utilized. Perhaps no other country in the world has so much silver wholly withdrawn from productive uses and worn as ornaments or buried for security. It is estimated that India has locked up in this profligate way billions of rupees. Between 1835 and 1909 imports of gold and silver into India exceeded exports by £346,000,000. Where is it all? "Within the past four years no less than 1,200,000,000 rupees have been drawn from the India mints. Sir James Meston, the financial member of the Government, remarked in March, 1919, that unless this continuing panic were checked and the hoarded coin were restored to circulation the whole basis of Indian cur-

rency and exchange policy would be reconsidered" (Lovett, "A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement," page 234). Great as this waste is, however, India's heaviest economic load is caste and the social isolation and ineffective use of nearly a third of the Hindu population of India.

As one of the most distinguished Indians, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, recently declared, "With the liberalizing forces of the British Government, the problem is leaping into full light. Thanks to that Government, it has become more than ever before an all-India problem. The curse of untouchability prevails to this day in all parts of India. It is not mere untouchability. It is worse than that. While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable, and some even unseeable by the higher castes, and this degradation has been imposed by these castes of Hindu society on one-fifth of the total population of their own country, race and creed—on thirty per cent. of the Hindu population of India. Out of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity."

And to this statement Dr. Williams' "Report to Parliament" adds:

"The Madras Presidency includes no fewer than 6,500,000 persons belonging to the untouchable class. Particularly on the west coast, some of the restrictions which encompass these unfortunates in their dealings with the higher castes are almost incredible. In nearly every village the public water supply is absolutely forbidden to a population which numbers one-sixth of the people of the Presidency. The report of the Madras Commissioner of Labour mentions that last year an English gentleman,

while driving through a municipal town with a student, was surprised at a request from his neighbour that he might be allowed to get down and walk and join him later on. He was still more surprised to find from his companion that his reason for descending was that owing to his caste he was not allowed to pass through a particular street. Theoretically all Government offices are open to persons of every class and creed, but a rich and respected gentleman, recently returned from abroad, was made to go outside a certain public office when it was discovered that he was of a low caste. These extraordinary social restrictions, so it is related, operate so powerfully that on a respectable Panchama gentleman being appointed to a seat on a Municipality, five members, including a Mohammedan, immediately sent in their resignations, and were with difficulty induced to withdraw them.

"The disability extends also to education. Though in theory all schools financed with public money are open to every class of the community, in practice there has been great difficulty in giving effect to this policy. The administration can legislate as much as it likes, but until the social sense of the community in general has advanced to a level which will enable it to disregard these heritages of a more primitive age, the disabilities under which the lower castes labour will persist. As has already been indicated, the disabilities extend at present to the minutest operations of daily life, and a labourer or small farmer belonging to the depressed classes is continually a loser in buying his ordinary purchases or in disposing of his produce, through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through many streets where the shopkeepers live."

"In Bombay Presidency alone," said the *Times of India*, December 1, 1921, "there are somewhere about a million people who by the rest of the population are

regarded on religious grounds as pariahs and outcastes, whose touch is regarded as a defilement, who are not allowed to draw water from the village well, whose children are not allowed even to enter the ordinary school. These disabilities are in force altogether apart from the personal cleanliness or position of the individual and are solely based upon caste." Even the affliction of leprosy, which is contemptuous of caste distinctions, cannot erase caste consciousness. In the leper asylum at Miraj the women of one of the higher castes had built a low wall across the cooking room to separate themselves from ceremonial defilement from women with whom they shared one common physical pollution.

A shrewd observer of Indian society expressed to us his judgment that caste had weakened as a religious institution, but as a social institution was stronger and stiffer than ever. Theoretically this may be true. Some of the worthier religious movements have involved the condemnation of caste. "Vaishnavism," said Sir C. Sankaran Nair, "is admittedly what is called the Bhakti or devotional worship which is inconsistent with the spirit of caste." "India's mission," says Rabindranath Tagore, "has been like that of a hostess who has to provide accommodation for numerous guests whose habits and requirements are different from one another. This gives rise to infinite complexities whose solution depends not merely upon tactfulness but upon sympathy and true realization of the unity of man. Towards this realization have worked from the early time of the Upanishads up to the present moment a series of great spiritual teachers whose one object has been to set at nought all differences of man by the overflow of our consciousness of

God." Nevertheless even the strongest of these movements have not been able to relax the grasp of caste both as a religious and as a social institution.

The Bhagavadgita, the great textbook of Bhakti and the most popular religious book in India, sought "to give all Vaishnavas a truly spiritual religion by bringing 'release' within reach of all men and women of the four chief castes, in itself a religious revolution, the Gita thus becoming 'the laymen's Upanishads.'" But among the four chief castes the Gita has not democratized society or dissolved the control of the Brahmans, and it has not opened the doors to the vast excluded mass. "No out-caste is admitted to Bhagavata temples in Maharashtra." "Brahmans who recite with admiration the verses of Tukaram hold jealously to caste distinctions" (*The Times of India,* October 8, 1919). "The touch of the Bhangi, Chamar, Dhed, Holiya, Mhar, Mang and Mochi is unclean, and none of these castes are allowed within the interior of the ordinary Hindu temple" (*Indian Census Report,* 1911). Mr. Gandhi calls himself a Sanatanist Hindu, that is a follower of orthodox Hinduism, and he gives his strong endorsement to caste distinction. "Caste system," says he, "is the chief strength and basic principle of Hindu Dharma."

Mr. Gandhi's influence is still, however, a powerful democratic force, and he is supporting in the most unequivocal way the growing movement for the deliverance of India from the economic incubus of the caste system and especially from the wrong and the impoverishment of the exclusion of the low caste people. "I should consent to be torn to pieces," he says, "rather than disown the suppressed classes. . . . Hindus will certainly never deserve freedom nor get

it if they allow their noble religion to be disgraced by the retention of the taint of untouchability. . . . Let us not deny God by denying to a fifth of our race the right of association on an equal footing." Under his leadership the National Congress has appealed for support of the cause of total prohibition, the removal of untouchability and the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes. There are some who see more clearly than Mr. Gandhi that the nationalistic movement and the movement against untouchability both demand a far more radical handling of the whole principle of caste. At the time of our last visit to Allahabad, which happened to be the birthday anniversary of Keshub Chandra Sen, founder of the Brahmo Samaj, Mr. Chintanami, the minister of education of the United Provinces and one of the foremost of the Moderate Nationalist leaders, delivered a memorial address on the great Indian social and religious reformer. One lesson, said he, that they must all learn was that caste and nationality did not go together. The greatest reform that an Indian nationalist should take up was the abolition of caste, and while it was true that Mr. Gandhi had expressed himself strongly against untouchability, he has not condemned caste and Mr. Chintanami maintains that that greatest evil of untouchability has still its root in the institution of caste.

From many quarters this institution is now under attack. The intelligent young men are assailing it. "These 53,000,000 people," says one of them, "are able-bodied men. They have an infinite capacity for work, and without them the big and petty landlords of India would come to grief" (*Young Men of India*, December, 1921, page 565). The Gaekwar of

Baroda has built separate schoolhouses for them or insisted on their admission to the regular schools and has required their equal treatment by the teachers. He and the Rani have received them personally at the palace and have eaten with them. In western India the Marathas have always disputed the supremacy of the Brahmans, and the humbler classes are increasingly expressing themselves in movements like the Satya Shodhak Samaj, or "Society for the Search of Truth," which was founded "with the object of emancipating the non-Brahman communities from the state of intellectual and religious bondage to which they were reduced by the craft of the Brahman priests." All the communizing influences of modern life are working also against caste isolation. One day on a dining car, on the great Indian Peninsula Railway we counted at the tables two Mohammedan men, two Sikhs, several high caste Hindu women with the religious mark on their foreheads, several Parsis, four or five Eurasians, Hindu men of various castes, some British officers, and tommies, and two English women. We watched the Mohammedans and the high caste Hindu men and women and saw them refusing none of the food. The Mohammedans even took the bacon which was served with the omelette. A few years ago a dozen cleavages, now wholly ignored, would have cut this company into fragments. The British would have had one or two dining cars of their own, and the Indians would have separated into half a dozen groups.

In one of the native states I called upon one of the leading doctors who was sent some years ago by the Maharajah to study homeopathy in New York City where I had met him. He had come to America,

Brahman though he was, in disregard to the caste limitations that forbade the defilement of such a trip. I asked him what were the greatest changes that had taken place in India since I had seen him in New York. He said at once that he would mention two, the weakening of caste and political progress. I asked him what evidences there were that caste had been weakened. "I will show you one," said he. "I am a Brahman, but I have married a wife of another caste. That would not have happened some time ago or if it had happened, it would have made my position altogether different. And I will introduce my wife to you." And he went out and returned with a handsome and handsomely dressed Hindu lady who shook hands with us and set forth tea and confections of which we all partook together.

"We have an out-caste Chamar as our municipal executive now," he went on, "not a Brahman or a member of one of the higher castes, but one whom a few years ago none of us would have touched or met. Now he presides in the municipal council, and every one receives him. The Mahars and Mangs are coming steadily forward and are recognized more and more not as out-castes but as men. We have a long way to go, but we are making progress. And India is making progress politically also. The attitude of the British Government is far more fair and generous than ever. I believe in the continuance of the present government and that there will be a peaceful evolution towards the rightful self-government of India. I do not anticipate any violence unless it should come from the Mohammedans. You have made a great mistake," he added, "in coming as you have. You should have let me know and come and stayed with me in a Hindu

home where we could have eaten together and talked together of these problems of the life of India." And he went on to praise a missionary long dead who had influenced his boyhood and whom he numbered among the saints.

Great changes have occurred, but as my friend said, there is still a long way to go. "In India," says Dr. Williams, "where the social system lends itself to the application of social, moral, and religious pressure in a degree to which the more materialistic West, with its cruder forms of intimidation, can supply no parallel," generations must elapse before the oppressions of caste will disappear. Even the Christian Church finds it difficult to exclude the caste spirit. The Roman Catholics let it in years ago and cannot now cast it out. In Ahmednagar until recently there were separate churches for the Mahars and Mangs. At Kodoli a Mahar elder refused to baptize Mangs, and the Mahars and Mangs were unwilling to use the same well. The Christian spirit has enabled both elder and people to transcend these old prejudices. There is scarcely a Mission station where the Gospel is at work uplifting the low castes where the bitterness of caste prejudice in seeking to hold them down does not also appear. A few quotations from the reports of work among the Chamars in North India will suffice:

"A young Chamar Christian, who was newly married, was called into the high-walled courtyard of the landlord and forced to sign a stamped promissory note for Rs. 25, on 24% interest, as he had married with Christian ceremony without the landlord's permission.

"Another as he had sent the tax due from him by money order was forced to sign a blank eight anna stamped paper by which he could be sued for Rs. 50, at

any high compound interest the landlord might choose to fix.

"A third was prosecuted for becoming a Christian without the landlord's permission on a false charge that he owed him a fabulous amount.

"A fourth was called into the courtyard and was forced to put his thumb impression to papers which showed that he had sold his excellent pair of oxen and two buffaloes and a cow to the landlord and had realized the full amount, when he was paid not a single pie.

"A number of temporary tenants were dispossessed of their fields as they had become Christians. To earn a livelihood they took to cutting grass. When they took the grass to the town for sale they were dragged to the landlord's courtyard by his sepoys and when they waited inside for the landlord, their bundles of grass which they had left outside were removed to the landlord's stables and his horses and cattle were fed freely.

"If fruits were missing from mango trees it was the Christian boy who had picked them. If a child accidentally fell into a pond it was the Christian boys again who pushed her down. The parents were called and fined heavily on these and similar false charges.

"The Christians were stopped from grazing their cattle in the open maidan and gathering fuel in the jungle where they were accustomed to go. Wherever they went they were looked down on with sneers and were called sweepers, the lowest despicable class.

"The question naturally arises under these circumstances: Is there no redress for these grievances? The chief difficulty lies in this that absolutely no witness can be had to testify against the landlord. The Chamar is a coward, especially when the landlord is concerned. Even when a brother is beaten to death, the Chamar would argue, 'Now my brother is dead, why should I get into trouble with the landlord—my bread provider.'

"However, one case was brought forward before the

Collector by a Chamar Christian against a Bania for calling him a sweeper and threatening to beat him; unlawfully detaining him in the house and for laying a blackmail of Rs. 50. Though the witnesses proved the charges made, the accused was acquitted to the utter surprise and disappointment of all interested. The trial was summary in its kind and a revision of the case in a higher court was useless. This has cast a great gloom on the hearts of the people and has disheartened even the bravest of the lot. It is impossible for the people to understand why a Christian Government cannot help a poor Christian when he is persecuted. Chunni, the plaintiff, is obliged to pull down his house, the home of the family for several generations, and go and live in another village."

3. India's educational problem is a problem not of the out-caste only but also of the huge uneducated caste population. Indeed one reason for the new interest of Hinduism in the out-caste is the steady rise of the out-caste population to which Christian Missions have brought those influences of the Church and the school which are lifting the out-castes to an economic and intellectual level above even a portion of the Brahman community. I cannot state the general facts with regard to the achievements and the shortcomings of education in India better than they have been stated by Mr. Rallia Ram, headmaster of the Rang Mahal School in Lahore and one of the best type of leaders in the new India, and by Dr. Rushbrook Williams. Mr. Rallia Ram writes:

"One of the foremost and greatest deficiencies which India is to make up is her lack of facilities for securing a speedy program of education. To-day, three villages out of every four are without a schoolhouse, and about

30,000,000 children of school-going age are growing up without receiving any instruction. No doubt, in some provinces the Government has passed an Act authorizing the Local Bodies to introduce free and compulsory education up to the primary standard, but for want of proper funds, initiative, and public spirit, very few Municipalities or District Boards have taken advantage of the said Act. Of the 315 million people living in India, only 18,500,000 persons, 16,900,000 men and 1,600,000 women were returned as literate in the census of 1911, giving a percentage of 5.8 of the population in point of literacy. The corresponding percentage of literacy in Japan is 95, United Kingdom 94, and the United States of America 90. The number of existing schools for primary education in British India amounts to 142,203 and the number of pupils attending them comes to 5,818,730, of whom 5,188,411 are boys and 630,319 girls. If we take all classes of educational institutions together we find that there is only one institution for every 1,717 persons of the population. The school-going population in more advanced countries varies from 15 to 20 per cent.

"The expenditure in British India from all sources, including fees, in 1916–17 was 11.2 crores or rupees. This gives a rate of Rs. 14.4 per head of school-going population, or 7 annas of the entire population. The corresponding expenditure in other countries is as follows: United Kingdom, Rs. 38 per head; Canada, Rs. 104; Japan, Rs. 13; United States, Rs. 114. The provision for technical and commercial education in India is sadly low. It was found in 1917–18 that only 16,594 throughout the whole country were receiving any technical and industrial education."

And Dr. Williams writes:

"There are still only 8,200,000 in all the educational institutions put together. That is to say, only 3.36% of

the population is under instruction, this figure being made up of 5.5% of the males and 1.2% of the females. And although expenditure had increased by 15%, the total sum expended upon education in India during the year 1919–20 amounted to only 14,890,000 pounds. About 2.5% of the population is enrolled in primary schools, and less than 3% is undergoing elementary instruction of any kind. In secondary schools on the other hand 0.5% of the population is under instruction, an abnormal figure comparing very remarkably with the 0.6% which has been estimated as the figure in Great Britain. Considering that the female population of the secondary schools is very small, it would seem that if the male population alone be reckoned, no less than 0.9% is found in the secondary schools—a proportion far greater than the corresponding figure for England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. In University education, the percentage of the Indian population undergoing instruction is no less than 0.027%, which, considering that here again the female population of India may be almost eliminated, compares remarkably well with the 0.054% of England and Wales. As was mentioned in last year's Report, an examination of the proportion of the college-going population to the total population of single tracts like Bengal, indicates that with a population approximately that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time university courses is in such tracts almost ten times as great as in England. . . .

"Out of her revenue of something over 180,000,000 pounds, at the new ratio of the rupee, India is already spending 15,000,000 pounds upon education, and inadequate as is this sum in proportion to the calls made upon it, it represents a fraction of her public resources which compare not unfavorably with that devoted by other countries to the same purpose. But India is a poor land, and the section of her small revenue available for educa-

tion is inadequate to the demands made upon it" ("India in 1920," pp. 163, 165).

4. And the education which India needs to-day is not only an education of the children in school. It is an education also of every community in sanitation and hygiene. Mr. Gandhi praises the ancient village life of India and deprecates the introduction of modern ideas including medicine and hospitals, and the advertisements in the periodicals of some of the most enlightened groups of social and religious reformers are scandalous in their exploitation of Ayur Vedic medicines, but nothing is more necessary than that India should be rid of her old ignorance and superstition in these matters. Human life should be conserved under new ideals of its sacredness and value both to God and to the State. "It is an acknowledged fact," says Mr. Rallia Ram, "that the sanitation of most of the towns and villages is abominably bad. The average death-rate for all India for the past ten years has been 31.8, while the corresponding recorded death-rate for Japan is 21.9, Canada 15.12, United Kingdom 14.6, United States 14.0 and Australia 10.5. It is interesting to note that the average life of an Indian is supposed to figure out 23 years, as compared with 45 to 55 years in Western countries. No doubt this is influenced to a certain extent by the climatic conditions and other causes, but one cannot pass by the stern fact that a low standard of living and unhealthy and insanitary environments are chiefly responsible for this palpable shortness of life in India."

5. "The three great hindrances and retardations which hold India back to-day," said an Indian teacher in one of the colleges, "are caste, untouchability, and

purdah." And he meant by purdah not only the seclusion of woman in the home but the loss from society of the forces which the emancipation and the education of women release. The progress that has thus far been made in female education in India is not inconsiderable, but what has been done is wholly inadequate. The task is no easy one. As Dr. Williams writes in one of his annual reports to Parliament:

"The problem of female education is beset by many difficulties. . . . Rapid expansion depends first upon an adequate supply of competent women teachers, secondly, upon devising a course that shall commend itself to conservative opinion which regards female education suspiciously; and thirdly, upon an alteration of the existing structure of education, which is unsuited to the needs of Indian women. The main difficulty remains, as hitherto, the lack of effective demand. During the last few years there has been a substantial improvement in the number of women under training, and in the provision of women's colleges. At the present moment in India there are 16 women's colleges and 118 training schools for women. Altogether there are a little over 1,200 women undergoing university education, and about 3,500 in training schools. It will be difficult to increase this number to any considerable degree throughout India at large until such institutions as purdah, early marriage and the like, can be modified by the growing enlightenment of public opinion. The importance of overcoming the existing female illiteracy is shown by the fact that throughout India only 1,380,000 women and girls are under instruction of any kind. Female illiteracy constitutes a serious bar to educational progress, since with half the population growing up almost without education, the incentive to education in the other half must be appreciably lowered. . . .

"Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that public opinion is far from realizing the importance of educating Indian womanhood. But now that the problems of education are made over to Indians for solution, it is to be hoped that means will be found to break down the apathy which has hitherto operated to hinder the expansion of female education. Only a great social change can call forth the teachers who are the primary requisite for such expansion. The Calcutta University Commission pointed out that peculiar difficulties and dangers surround young women who set out to teach in lonely village schools. 'The fact has to be faced,' the Commission reported, 'that until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry towards women who are not living in zenana, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible.' It will therefore be seen that the problem does not merely depend for its solution upon the good-will of the administrators."

It depends upon a new religious conception of woman. "Woman never did have a Vedic value," declared Cornelia Sorabji. Of the most popular religious poet in western India his latest expositor declares, "His poems have no recognition of woman's true place in society and of her needed restoration to her proper position in the world" (Frazer and Edwards, "Life and Teaching of Tukaram," page 264). And of the failure of Hinduism in its treatment of women no one has spoken more plainly or more bitterly than the great Indian reformers of the last century.

6. The earnest leaders of India to-day are struggling for the emancipation and education of women with all the influence of the Government supporting them. In their struggle against the growth of the

liquor evil in India they have had the influence of the Government against them. The ordinary Englishman is utterly unable to understand the prohibition movement. It is a question of unfailing interest and often of extreme irritation. Not only is the example of individual Englishmen in India antagonistic to the suppression of the liquor traffic, but many of them openly and violently oppose the movement. The editor of the *Indian Temperance News* reports an illustrative incident concerning a temperance meeting in a South India High School crowded with Indian hearers:

"Using charts and a few other demonstrations, we centered our attention for nearly an hour on the 'Reasons for and the Results of Prohibition in U. S. A.' At the conclusion of this lecture one of the most intelligent and one of the most attentive of the audience rose. He was not an intelligent villager whose domain was his village, but the District Magistrate, a British official of wide experience and culture. At some length he brought forth counter-arguments to disprove the lecture of the evening. He used all the stock arguments which have been worn threadbare by opponents of prohibition since agitation began, such as 'Prohibition does not Prohibit,' 'Personal Liberty,' 'Revenue,' 'Employment,' etc. He was sincere in his argument and our debate lasted for nearly another hour."

The income from liquor licenses has been a large and growing item in the government and provincial budgets. In 1919–20 the revenue from excise in the Madras Presidency was Rs. 53,142,317. More than a ninth of the income of the National Indian Government was from excise and opium. In Bihar and Orissa the revenue derived from excise increased

in fifteen years from nearly 70 lakhs of rupees to 150 lakhs, the largest income under a single head. A Hindu, a Christian and a Mohammedan member of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council brought in resolutions to stop the sale and manufacture of liquor, and all were lost. Regarding temperance legislation in Madras the Rev. D. G. M. Leith wrote in *Young Men of India,* September, 1921: "Undoubtedly the new Government is afraid of loss of revenue and those who previously were pronounced temperance reformers but are now responsible members of Government are afraid lest by the loss of the excise revenue they will be compelled to impose a new tax upon the people, thereby incurring unpopularity and possibly early political defeat. As so often, it is the case of money versus morality." Nevertheless with economic, moral and religious reasons supporting it the prohibition movement is sure ultimately to prevail in India, as in the United States. Already, thanks to Christian leadership, local option measures have been adopted in the Punjab. Both the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad and the All India Christian Conference at Lahore have spoken vigorously in behalf of entire prohibition.

One tragic feature of the present political situation in India has been the identification of some forms of prohibition propaganda with sedition. The non-cooperators have picketed the liquor shops to keep customers away, partly in a temperance interest and partly to cut down the government revenues. This picketing has been punished as seditious, and the anti-excise agitation has been denounced as unpatriotic. The saloons, on the other hand, have set up their cause as the cause of order and patriotism, and we saw over one

liquor shop in Bombay the impudent sign in large English letters, "If God Be For Us, Who Can Be Against Us?" It will have to be admitted that this shameless doctrine of religion was borrowed from the West.

7. But India has her own amazing inversions of religious ideas. None of these is more strange to us than the worship of the cow. Mr. Gandhi himself has set forth the place which this idea has in Hinduism in language that is almost incredible:

"Every Hindu believes in God and His oneness," he says, "in rebirth and salvation, but that which distinguishes Hinduism from every other religion is its cow protection.

"The central fact of Hinduism is cow protection.

"Cow protection to me is one of the most wonderful phenomena in human evolution.

"Cow protection is the gift of Hinduism to the world, and Hinduism will live so long as there are Hindus to protect the cow. The way to protect is to die for her.

"Cow protection means conquering the Mussulmans by our love.

"Hindus will be judged not by their tilaks, not by the correct chanting of Mantras, not by their pilgrimages, not by their most punctilious observance of caste rules, but by their ability to protect the cow.

"I have made the Khilafat cause my own because I see that through its preservation full protection can be secured for the cow."

These are not mere figures of speech. There are temples like the temple of Vithoba, at Pandharpur, the great place of pilgrimage in the Dekkan, where the cow is actually used as an object of worship. The belief

that the excreta of the cow has power to cleanse men from sin is a belief well-nigh universal among Hindus (Frazer and Edwards, "Life and Teaching of Tukaram," page 159). It cannot be said that these conceptions have been helpful to India. They have degraded religion, and by hindering veterinary science and the hygienic care of animals they have injured and not advantaged the useful creature whose products and service entitle her to the care and gratitude of the people. It is not a trifling thing to say that India must learn to think differently of cows as well as of women.

How can India think as she does in these and other matters? We asked these questions of a very clever Indian lawyer with whom we spent a pleasant afternoon on a railroad train between two north Indian cities, passing through one of the most fertile and thickly settled parts of India where the fields were full of husbandmen and the whole world was bathed in the glorious, unclouded sunshine of an Indian winter day. He was glad, he said, of the opportunity to talk. One of his complaints against the average Englishman was that he did not care to talk with the Indian people and knew very little of their real life and thought. He believed that the common people had now been thoroughly reached by the nationalistic agitation. He did not share its non-coöperation principle. He believed that the majority of the intelligent people of India held his own convictions that Great Britain should not withdraw from India, that India was not ready for complete self-government. Divided within and weak without, she could not yet go alone. The right solution, he believed, was Dominion status for India within the Empire. But Great Britain had mishandled the situation. It had been folly to pass the Rowlatt

Act. At the right time it might have been a legitimate precautionary measure against a seditious or inflammatory press, but as a matter of fact it had accomplished nothing except to irritate the people and to give the non-coöperators a new and effective weapon. It had been especially foolish to pass such an act when no concessions had yet been made in the direction of self-government and when the popular temper was raw. If the reforms had been given first that Act and other Acts might have been safely passed afterwards.

We asked him whether he was convinced that the political ferment had reached the vast quiet mass of the village people, and I told him of some old village head men whom we had asked regarding the Khilafat and Swaraj and Gandhi who had professed ignorance of them all. Perhaps the old chaudhris might not have known of the Khilafat and Swaraj, he replied, but they could hardly have been ignorant of Mr. Gandhi, whom everywhere the people knew and rightly reverenced. The real trouble, he went on, was that good British government did not reach down deep enough. It was the native police who represented Government to the great mass of the people. If he had his way he would abolish the native police and substitute, if it were possible, a pure British police force instead of the corrupt and tyrannical native police who made Government feared and hated among the people. We asked him whether he would be willing to explain two matters which Americans could not understand in India, namely, how intelligent Indians could worship cows and how they could support Turkey in the Khilafat movement without one word of reprobation of her bad government and of

the massacres with which she had again and again defiled her history.

"As to Turkey," he replied, "I wholly agree with you. Turkish rule, at least over Christian populations, should have been wiped out long, long ago. In London I had an Armenian friend, and I often wept with him. At the end of the war all India would have accepted any righteous dealing with Turkey. But we saw at once that Turkey was not to be dealt with, any more than she had been in the past, on a basis of righteousness. When some Indian Mohammedans spoke in behalf of lenient treatment of Turkey, England answered, 'We are dealing less severely with Turkey than with Germany.' What did that have to do with it? It was not a matter of lenience, less or more. It was a matter of justice. If England had replied, 'We intend to do justice by Germany and Turkey alike though the heavens fall,' all of India would have been satisfied, but we saw that now, as always, Europe did not intend to proceed on a basis of righteousness, but on a basis of policy and expediency. Indian Mohammedans perceived that it was clamour and politics that would prevail and not righteousness. If the problem of Turkey was to be used by England and France as a mere counter in the game that they were playing for national advantage, why should not India use it, too? That is the meaning of the Khilafat agitation. India is more sincere in it than England has ever been in her Turkish policy.

"As to the cow," he went on, "I will tell you frankly, that I do not eat the meat of cows, but I do not disapprove at all of the use of meat by those who care for it. The religious idea, which you do not understand and which has grown into grotesque forms,

was originally only the recognition of the value of the cow to man, its worth as the source of five products essential to his comfort and life in this tropical land. What is worship but worthship, the according to an object of its real worth? Ultimately this true feeling was superstitionized into the silly religion of to-day. I disapprove of these Cow Protection Societies which oppose veterinary science and destroy the very creatures they purport to protect."

Did he think that Hinduism was in any respect losing its grasp upon the people?

"Indeed I do," he replied. "I believe that caste is relaxing and that religion is declining. Brahmans are not entering the priesthood as they did in former days, because priests receive no such support from the people now as they did in former times. Personally I am a Hindu, but I am not a religious man, and I think I am detached enough to see the tendencies which are at work. In this part of India it is the Arya Samaj and the Christian missionaries who are responsible for the decline of Hinduism, but they do not offer anything very attractive as a substitute for the old Hinduism. The high caste people do not see that the new movements offer them anything of practical material advantage. So the old religion is dying and nothing is taking its place. Among the low castes it is very different. There your missionaries have done a wonderful work in lifting up these depressed masses. I see this. I think we are losing our old life and that we are not taking over the good from our Western teachers as we ought. We are not learning your persistence, your pertinacity, your enterprise, your sacrifice, your spirit of adventure and service, your determination upon great and good purposes and the sub-

ordination of life and all of life's resources to their accomplishment. We do not learn these things. We learn collars and these clothes. There is no teaching of religion in the homes as in the old days. If I were to have it in my home, I suppose I should look to the Arya Samaj for it. There have been other deteriorations, too, in India. The British who come to India to-day are far inferior to the old type."

We drew him back to the subject of religion.

"Oh," said he, "a man can be a good man in any religion. I don't see any essential difference in the great religions. No, I know you would not agree. As to the modern education of women, I disapprove of it. I am not a rich man, but I have comfortable means. I gave Rs. 30,000 to the war funds. I raised many millions in the loans, and I kept five men at my own expense recruiting troops. We can have servants, but we live in the old Indian style. My wife gets up at five in the morning and works till eleven at night. I think we ought to train our girls for the old frugal life."

He was opposed to free trade. He would keep India simple and real and maintain, as far as possible in this new day, the old industries. It was the Sikhs in the Punjab, who had formerly been a great stronghold of loyalty, who were now seditious. As for himself, he was loyal to the Government and was not afraid of the unpopularity and opposition he had met in supporting it, but he did not believe that it had handled India wisely. It ought to do more to win the good-will and to promote the interest of the common people. Was it not the common people, we asked him, who had profited by the establishment of order, by fixity of land tenure and taxes, by roads, and most of

all by the wide and ever-widening system of irrigation works?

"Yes," said he, "but look at the government budget. Compare what it spends on mechanical and trade schools with Birmingham University."

He had lived once in England and had known well some of the most earnest Christian men, Lord Radstock and others. We asked him what he would think of the suggestion, which we had heard a British official make a few evenings before, that the British should offer definitely to leave India at the end of five years.

"Futile," said he. "In the first place, India would not believe them. Look at Ireland. And in the second place, the agitators would not cease their agitations. They would redouble them. No, instead of the British leaving India every one of the Native States of India should be made British territory."

He had lived in them, and he knew the conditions, the fall in real estate values the moment one crossed the boundary line between British India and a Native State, the inferior government, and the different atmosphere. There might be exceptional Native States, but he was speaking of what he knew. Had we been surprised at his views about woman's place in India? We had intimated as much and had asked him about suttee and child marriage.

"No," he answered, "suttee will never be revived. And in the old days when it was practiced it was an atrocious thing when it was forced upon the widow. But was it not noble when it was voluntary—life given up in joy and freedom for love? As to child marriages, whether of young boys to women or young girls to men, I would hang all who are concerned in them to the nearest tree."

What can one say of such views except that it was the same kind of positive entertaining opinion that one might hear from an intelligent man of any nation looking out critically upon the society which had produced him. I began to quote this conversation for its reference to the Hindu worship of cows, but it bears on a good deal else besides and may well lead on to the little that there is room to say on the illimitable subject of Indian Religion, especially on some of the phases of chief interest to Missions.

8. The initial difficulty is that Hinduism is incapable of definition. "Occasionally lawgivers have found themselves compelled to try to define a Hindu. The attempt has always failed, since in practice those Indians are Hindus who are neither Mohammedans nor Jews nor Parsis nor Christians nor members of any other Indian community that can be defined or disposed of. . . . If we use the word of the prevalent type of life and belief which the Mohammedans found in India we may describe Hindus as marked by the following characteristics: Their social system is based on caste and they recognize the spiritual ascendancy of the Brahmans. They venerate the Vedas and the cow. They worship and believe in one or more of the usual Hindu gods, in Vishnu or his *Avataras,* in Siva, or in others. They believe in the cycle of rebirth. They use images in religious worship" (Frazer and Edwards, "Life and Teaching of Tukaram," page 25; Farquhar, "Primer of Hinduism," Chapters XIII and XIV). This would seem to be a clear and satisfactory definition, but the Indian census takers are unable to make it or any other definition work. The Census Report of 1911 refers to "the impossibility of framing a comprehensive definition of Hinduism in-

telligible to the average enumerator and of drawing a hard and fast line between Hinduism and other religions, Jainism, Islam, Animism and Sikhism." In Bombay Presidency there were "35,000 Hindu-Mohammedans whose creed and customs partake of both religions." The Census Report states, "various tests have been suggested to fix what constitutes a Hindu, but finally it was decided to treat all who call themselves Hindus as Hindus." Indian religion does not like definitions. It is the erasure of distinctions and the obliteration of clear boundaries which is characteristic of it. As one of its greatest poets has sung:

> "My heart has never trod the Pilgrim way,
> The vows I make I know not how to pay.
> 'Ah, God is here,' I cry. Not so, not so,
> For me distinctions have not passed away."

What Missions meet in India, accordingly, is an attitude of mind which believes that all that is essential and, for that matter, all that is unessential also, exists within the amorphous comprehension of Hinduism, and that resents only the Western habit of intellectual exactness and the Christian principle of the singleness and exclusiveness of truth. "I have always felt," wrote a Hindu gentleman of the highest character, on the occasion of our visit to his city, "that the well meaning and earnest activities of the foreign missions in India were wholly misdirected. To bring religion to India from the West showed an extraordinary knowledge of India, for religion is ingrained in us. It is in our very blood and bone. Religion is still a rule of life with us that should govern every activity.

And so it is that to-day in our fight for freedom against British imperialism, religion is our sheet anchor. We fight with the unique and matchless weapon of non-violence, for we feel that victory will at last come to those who suffer for the sake of truth and not to those who inflict the suffering. . . . The basis of Indian art is the representation of the ideal, of the soul of a thing. The student who wishes to understand it must not go by externals. He must dive deep and find the spirit behind the form. Even so those who desire to know what India is, what India thinks, and what India seeks must not be misled by forms and appearances."

This identification of Hinduism with the whole of life, its tropical richness of form and symbolism, its want of intellectual definiteness and precision explain various features of the present-day resistance of Hinduism to Christianity, such as its defense of idolatry, the new apologetic for immoral symbolism, the dislike of clear Christian doctrine, and the spirit of syncretism and assimilation.

(1) Under the powerful and uncompromising attack of Ram Mohun Roy upon Hindu idolatry, as not merely symbolic but literal, and moved by the influence of Western education and of the Christian view of God and the world, there grew up in India a great shame and disavowal of idols. That shame and disavowal are sure to increase, but, instead of the frank confession and condemnation of idolatry, one finds to-day both in the nationalistic movement and in the most advanced of the Samajes a new spirit of defense and apology. "I do not disbelieve in idol worship," says Mr. Gandhi. "An idol does not excite any feeling of veneration in me, but I think that idol worship is

a part of human nature. . . . I do not consider idol worship a sin." The Prarthana Samaj is perhaps the most enlightened of all the reform groups, but it has members who "have banished neither idolatry nor caste from their homes." Its Bombay branch in 1920 carried by a vote of only 19 to 12 a resolution requiring each applicant for admission to declare at the time of becoming a member, "I undertake to perform all domestic and other ceremonies according to theistic rites discarding idolatry." A second resolution proposing to add to the rules of the Samaj the following: "Any member who performs a domestic or any other ceremony with idolatrous rites, or worships any idols while performing such rites, will *ipso facto* cease to be a member of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj," was lost, only seven members voting for it ("Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," Vol. 9, Article "Prarthana Samaj," *Dnyanodaya,* July 17, 1920). There has undoubtedly been a great diminution of blind idolatry in India. Many have given over idolatry altogether, and many who practice or allow the use of idols truly conceive them as mere symbols. But Mr. Gandhi is mistaken when he says, "No Hindu considers an image to be God." Millions of Hindus worship images as gods or as God, and I do not see how the thousands of pure-spirited Indians like Mr. Gandhi can visit Benares or Allahabad or any one of a hundred thousand temples in India or see the place of idolatry in home and village life without a feeling of sickness and almost utter hopelessness of soul.

(2) Another feature of present-day religious thought in India supported in part by Western tendencies in philosophical and ethical teaching, in part by the patriotic defense of everything Indian, and in

part by what is animal in the human spirit is the new apology for the immoralities, or unmoralism, which the life-embracing character of Hinduism has gathered up into its indiscriminating bosom. Even Mr. Gandhi says, "I know the vice that is going on to-day in all the great Hindu shrines, but I love them in spite of their unspeakable failings" (*Kaukab i Hind*, October 14, 1921). And writers are now found both in and out of India who defend the Tantras, which, until recently, no one has even dared to translate into English, and Tantric worship as representing a higher and fuller religious view than Christianity. "Christianity," they say, "as ordinarily interpreted, puts an impassable gulf between the ideal and human nature. The Agama (that is the Tantra) on the contrary throws its circumference around the whole circle of human activity. . . . It includes worship with flesh foods, intoxicants, and sex because it recognizes that these are inherent in certain stages of human development and because it believes that they are more certain to be transcended through being associated with the religious idea than through being left alone or in an antagonistic relationship to religion. . . . Simple religion such as Christianity removes God from His creation and removes Him also from full contact with a complete humanity, by speaking of Him as single-sexed and so vitiating the whole superstructure of commentary and custom. Simple philosophy, on the other hand, reduces everything to abstraction.

"The Tantrik teacher, however, declares, 'It is as impossible to hold the firmament between a pair of tongs as it is to worship an attributeless Brahman by a mind with attributes.' Tantra replaces the attributeless as an object of contemplation by Shakti (the Cre-

ative Energy in all its forms personified as feminine) as an object of worship and holds that the subtler aspects of Shakti can only be reached through her physical and mantra forms" (*The Modern Review*, February, 1918, article "The Agamas and the Future"). This is a view, however, which India is certain to abandon unless she is induced to retain it by Western influence. Against the teaching and influence of the Tantras every other religion of the world, including all that is good in Hinduism, has been a protest. This new apologetic represents a pathological aspect of the human mind.

(3) One meets in India to-day just as at home the easy derision of "creed and dogma." In the West one has to recognize that such talk represents an inevitable reaction against the distorted religious teaching which gave a disproportionate place to the intellectual and doctrinal elements of religion and forgot the full truth of Christianity. The religion of character and conduct might not have spurned the religion of creed if the latter had not also erred. But whatever the cause of the reaction, it has been real enough or, at any rate, the expressions which have become its shibboleths are common enough. We met them in some of the addresses which were presented to us by the sympathetic but non-Christian students in some of the great high schools. Here are two illustrative passages from two of the schools each of which had in the neighbourhood of seven hundred students:

"Your schools were founded primarily for religious instruction and for the propagation of the Christian Faith. Judged from the standard that the goal of missionary enterprise is to add as many converts to the

Church as possible, it appears that their efforts have failed, at least in the educational institutions. We who belong to other religions find it hard to accept certain metaphysical dogmas of Christianity. But after all what should be the object of missionary effort? Is it the spreading of the Spirit of Christ or is it the spreading of the dogmas of Christianity? The love, sympathy and in many cases the self-sacrifice of the teachers, and the daily reading of the teachings of Christ from the Bible never fail to introduce the essential spirit of Christianity into the mind of even the dullest student."

"With these brilliant records of success in secular instruction, religious instruction has by no means been ignored; rather, it has been attended to with redoubled zeal, and we honestly believe that our success in one branch is primarily due to the purity of thought resultant from devoted attention to the other branch. We have regular Bible readings and even if certain metaphysical dogmas of Christianity may not be acceptable to certain minds yet these lessons never fail to impress us with the spirit of Christianity—the spirit of love, sympathy and self-sacrifice."

One meets constantly this rejection of the historic Christian doctrine coupled with the expression of highest admiration for Christ and His Spirit. It is characteristic of India as it is common in the West to-day to hold the sheer fallacy that the teaching and spirit of Christ are separable from the New Testament valuation of the person of Christ. We met this view in conversation with two high-minded and earnest Indian gentlemen with whom we talked one morning on a wide veranda in western India looking off across a wealth of waving cocoanut trees. They were both Hindus, one a retired judge and another the most respected lawyer in the neighbouring district, from which

he had come down to meet us. Conversation began with an attempt to define religion. These two friends were agreed in conceiving it to be the ecstatic spiritual consciousness of God. But, we asked them, ought not religion to be conceived in terms of service rather than of ecstasy? No, they replied, this was just the radical difference between their religious view and Christianity, or at any rate the European interpretation of Christianity. In Christianity spiritual ecstasy was recognized but it was a means to the end of service. In Hinduism service and worship were only means to the end of ecstasy. Idolatry was a darkening shadow upon the essence of Hindu religion. They themselves made no use of idols. It was Buddhism, they held, which was responsible for idolatry in India. It was not in the Vedas, and it was not in the teaching of Buddha, but when after Buddhism had prevailed in India for a few centuries the Vedanta movement destroyed it, it left idolatry as its bequest. By a strange irony Buddha, who had taught that there was no god, was himself deified, and his effigies were worshipped all over the Buddhist world. It was an evil legacy which he had left to India.

But had he not also left the doctrine of the sacredness of life and had not mild and benign influences flowed from his teaching? On the other hand, they held that it was the Jains whose religion was older than Buddhism who had taught the doctrine of the sacredness of life.

Caste also was unessential to religion, and it was slowly but surely disappearing. After all it represented little more than the notions of social distinction embodied in the British nobility. All ideas of class hatred and pride had been imported into caste either

by Western imagination or by Western influence. A distinction had been drawn in our conversation, they said, between Christianity and Hinduism, but in reality they were prepared to recognize all religion as essentially one. They were joyfully ready to acknowledge Christ as a saint like Tukaram, but perhaps not superior, and certainly they were not ready to acknowledge any exclusive claim. Christ they could accept but not the European gloss. But, I reminded them, Christ's exclusive claim was not a European gloss. The same records which gave us the picture of Him that they were ready to accept gave us also and with equal authenticity His exclusive claims.

"What claims have you in mind?" they asked.

I quoted them: "I am the Way and the Truth and the Life. No man cometh unto the Father but by me;" "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him;" "I am the Light of the world;" "Verily, verily I say unto you, except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day."

"I cannot accept those sayings," said the older man.

We returned to what they had said about caste, and they expressed their conviction that caste as an influence of social segregation was declining through social, intellectual and economic changes. Plague, which had been such a sorrow to India, had nevertheless mixed all the people together in the democracy of disease. Many like themselves were ready to break caste and did not do so, simply because others were not ready for it and would be offended. As to Swaraj,

it would not come for fifty years. We passed back to the subject of religion again and the idea that all religion is essentially one. Surely this was so, they urged. For example, they disagreed widely between themselves, these two friends. One was a monist, the other was a dualist. One of them longed to be one with God; the other longed to be nearer to God. They were both Hindus. Were they not both longing for the same thing? they asked. Were not all religions after all but different ways of reaching God?

But what did they mean by God, we asked. "Ishwar, the Divine Essence." Why did India not worship Ishwar then? In all India there was not one temple of such worship nor one to Brahma, the Creator. How could this be? They replied that God conceived as Brahma, the Creator, is really outside of human life. His work is done. What is the use of worshipping him,—so the heart of India felt. It worshipped God conceived as Preserver in Vishnu and as Destroyer in Siva. To the extent that men worshipped idols they worshipped foolishly, and such foolish worship would inevitably disappear. Some of their best friends, they said, were missionaries, especially American missionaries whom they regarded as tolerant and just men. They said that in their judgment Missions had greatly improved. They used to say, "Your religion is false and mine is true." Now they say, "Mine is better." The judge said he had read a little book which I had written on comparative religion entitled "The Light of the World," and that he liked the sentence, "Westerners are worse than their religion." He thought this was true. I asked him with regard to the rest of the sentence, which embodied an opinion which I had heard Sir Andrew

Fraser express, "In the East men are better than their religions." The judge said that he was not aware of that. After the manner of such friendly talk as we were having we returned to the beginning, and I cited from the Epistle of James his conception of religion as purity and service. "It is not satisfying," said they. As to truth, what were its criteria? I cited Christ's judgment, "By fruits ye shall know." Not so, they held. The full ecstasy of spiritual experience was the true criterion, and this was the longing of men rather than their possession. There were not five men in India who had experienced religion, the full satisfaction of the spiritual consciousness. They were glad to have had this meeting, for they were hunting for the truth. We discussed, before they left, the different ways in which men's minds were moving in different parts of India and the changes that had taken place in their own part of India within their memory.

"I can remember," said the younger man, "when as a boy the shadow of an untouchable out-caste fell upon me my mother would send me home to bathe. It is not so now." Some weeks later I received from the older man a letter which he had promised to write giving his impressions after rereading the Christian Gospels. His letter concluded, "The Gospels do not contain the whole of the real teachings of Jesus, what He privately taught to His disciples, in other words, His religion. That teaching, that religion is lost."

(4) This kindly attitude towards Christ which is at once so critical and so uncritical is very characteristic of present religious thought in India. The doctrines both of the Incarnation and of the Atonement are a stumbling block, the former to Mohammedans and the

latter to the Hindus, but the comprehensive spirit of Hinduism is very ready to respect and admire Jesus. "In it (Hinduism) there is room for the worship of all the prophets of the world," says Mr. Gandhi. And, admitted on any terms even though not His own, Christ inevitably asserts His moral supremacy. A generation ago, in spite of all that Keshub Chandra Sen said with courage and love, which yet fell short of full faith, with regard to Jesus, the thought of India was cold to Him. The influences which have been at work, however, of which Mr. Gandhi has been one of the strongest, have brought the thought of India to the recognition of Christ's moral authority.

Mr. Gandhi has again and again exalted the authority and moral glory of Christ. It is quite true that he rejects our conception of Christ's Person and nature, but he has ever referred to Him with reverence and even when he has not mentioned Christ's name or perhaps been at all conscious that his thought was influenced by Christ he has upheld the ethical ideals and principles which historically owe their vitality to our Lord. In these respects and in a great deal of his moral and social influence Mr. Gandhi has been a very great and a very righteous force in India.

Indians complain of government action which is not in accord with Christianity. They make this complaint not only because the Government purports to be a Christian government, but also because they are coming to recognize Christ's standard and ideal as the ultimate basis of moral judgment. Mr. Natarajan, one of the leading Indians in Bombay, editor of the *Indian Social Reformer,* recently presided over one of Dr. Stanley Jones' meetings on "Jesus Christ and Present-Day Problems," and declared, at the close of

the lecture, that he entirely agreed that the pressing problems of society can be solved only by acting on the principles of Jesus' life and teachings (*Dnyanodaya,* December 22, 1921). The *Bombay Chronicle,* the leading nationalist newspaper, in an editorial already referred to, appealed to the example of Christ in support of the non-coöperation movement. It pictured the attitude which, in its view, Christ would take if He returned to India. It appealed to His authority in support of Mr. Gandhi's policy as embodying "the truths of Christianity and of all religions as applied to politics and statecraft." *The Servant of India,* another nationalist paper, in an editorial on cowardice and non-violence, held up before the non-coöperators the example of Christ in His trial: "When Christ was brought before Pilate, His reply to all the latter's impertinent and irreverent questions was a dignified silence. This is a significant indication of how we should meet the insulting outbreak of irresponsible power. We must make it feel—how, only the actual circumstances can suggest—that it is in the wrong" (Quoted in the *Delhi Eastern Mail,* October 25, 1921).

9. The influence of Christianity on religious thought in India is evidenced in many movements where it is not acknowledged, or where it may even be resisted or denied. The earlier Samajes joyfully recognized their indebtedness to Christianity. They began, and their first inaugurators recognized that they had begun, directly under Christian inspiration. The later movements like the Arya Samaj, which arose in direct opposition to Christianity and which is now the most vigorous of all the Samaj movements, and the Dev Samaj, which some would regard as

deistic or even atheistic in its theology, but which represents a definite humanizing and moral tendency, both owe their best elements, consciously or unconsciously, to Christianity. The other strongest religious movements in India which long antedated the modern missionary era, namely, Vaishnavism and Vedantism, likewise have been deeply influenced in many of their expressions and their advocates by Christian truth and by the Christian spirit.

No one better illustrates in his own statements and in his own person the view which the sentiment of India has come to take of Christ than the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, President of the Bombay Legislative Council and one of the most highly respected men in India, a man of noble mind and noble character. "The best minds of India," he wrote, were "striving to diffuse among the masses the best that is in the Indian religion and to show that the best is not different from, but is the same as Christ's teachings" (*The Times of India,* June 8, 1921). Sir Narayan was one of the leading spirits in the Prarthana Samaj, a theistic society whose theology would not differ greatly from that of some members of the left wing of American Unitarianism. The Bhagavadgita is their New Testament, supplemented by the poems of the devotional school, especially Tukaram. There is one of these entitled "Santi," or calm, which Dr. McNicol, of the Scotch Mission in Poona, has translated under the title "He Leadeth Me."

"Holding my hand thou leadest me,
My comrade everywhere.
As I go on and lean on thee,
My burden thou dost bear.

"If, as I go, in my distress
I frantic words should say,
Thou settest right my foolishness
And tak'st my shame away.

"Thus thou to me new hope dost send,
A new world bringest in;
Now know I every man a friend
And all I meet my kin.

"So like a happy child I play
In thy dear world, O God,
And everywhere—I, Tuka, say
Thy bliss is spread abroad."

Sir Narayan made this poem the theme of one of his sermons to the Prarthana Samaj. "Mark the succession of changes of the relation," he said. "We start in life with God as our Master; we begin by obeying Him; His will is our law; and soon the Master develops into our Friend as we go on serving Him; then the Master and the Servant begin to be familiar; and the Master stoops to serve the Servant. . . . The nectar of Tukaram's hymns is shed for us when they are sung; and of this hymn it is especially true. It has no falls—line rises upon line, thought grows with thought, and the poet pictures to us our God changing from Master into Friend, Teacher, Lover until at last His companionship turns Him into our very being. . . . And growth from within means walking with God, feeling His touch, realizing His presence and communing with Him, filling ourselves with the spirit of what the Bible speaks of as the Holy Ghost."

I went to call once upon Sir Narayan in Bombay.

While waiting for him I was interested to see on the wall a large picture of Spurgeon. When he came in I spoke of it, and he expressed his great admiration for Spurgeon, whom he had gone to hear preach in London. He said he liked the earnestness of his conviction, but he did not like one sermon which he heard describing the penalty and judgment on sin, and he thought unfavourably of the way in which Mr. Spurgeon sometimes announced the collection, "If any one is not willing to part with something, let him leave." He thought that Christianity would not be accepted by India as Europe had accepted it, as a new religion from without, but that Hinduism would discover in itself the principles and values of Christianity, not reading these into Hinduism but discovering that they were already there. There was no Hindu book, however, like the New Testament. And Hinduism was not like the Western systematic construction of Christianity, but was full of confusions and illogicalness. He thought, if we rightly understood him, that idolatry and caste were likely to endure. He told us of a visit which he had made to Pandharpur and of his falling down thrilled before the feet of Tukaram. He admitted that his feeling was not one of religion. It was veneration and affection. Yet his act had been just like the act of the people in idolatry. He had visited the near-by temple of Vithoba, but he did not even clasp his hands or bow there. He had no belief in the reality of Hindu–Moslem unity. The Moslem was a democrat in the mosque but an aristocrat outside, using the words in a political sense. He had no patience with the Khilafat agitation, but he thought the Turkish question should be dealt with in a conference of the Turks and Europeans sitting down to-

gether. Many people thought India could govern itself, just as his two-year-old grandchild thought he could rule the house. India was not ready for such Swaraj, but she was ready and had a right to ask for self-government within the Empire.

Sooner or later the Government and Mr. Gandhi would have to come to an issue. He thought some measure of violence was sure to come, that history had shown that great political developments were seldom achieved without the spilling of blood, but he did not believe that there would be any general violence. The agitation which Mr. Gandhi represented must surely be put down. I ventured to bring forward what seemed to me to be a fundamental distinction between Christianity and the non-Christian religions, namely, the fact and meaning of the Resurrection. No, he replied, there was no resurrection in Hinduism, neither of God nor of saint, but he held that all that is of moral value in the conception was supplied by apparitions and that the idea of apparitions in the body was very familiar to Hindus. But I asked how the idea of transmigration could be reconciled with the doctrine of the Resurrection or how the moral values of the Resurrection could be drawn from apparitions in a religion of transmigration. He replied that Hinduism was a philosophical and vague religion, not logical and accurate, that the English temporized in politics and the Indians in religion, that Hinduism could not be pressed into any logical exactitude. Those who have come as far as Sir Narayan has come towards Christ are preparing the way for a generation who will come further.

The evidences of the filtration of Christian views into Indian thought might be multiplied indefinitely.

I could quote from note-books conversations with all types of men indicating the place to which Christ has been already admitted in the mind of India and to which He cannot be restricted. Groups like the Chet Rami sect arise, small in themselves and often transitory, but all of them eddies on the surface which show the movement of deep undertides. There is one of the native states, Gwalior, in which the visitor feels the weight of a peculiarly distressing and oppressive idolatry where nevertheless in all the schools of the state a strange prayer is offered which mingles the ideas of a sort of Hindu Shintoism with a Christian thought of God.

10. A real alliance of Hinduism and Mohammedanism would have deep significance in relation to Indian politics. Such a unity would have profound significance also for religion in India. Is this unity real? The All-India Congress, in 1921, made up of Hindus and Mohammedans alike, was united in making Mr. Gandhi dictator of the Nationalist Movement, with authority to appoint his successor and invested him and his successor and all subsequent successors, appointed in time by their predecessors, "with the full powers of the All-India Congress committee." The only limitation imposed was that "the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained." So creeds do matter after all. It would be interesting to hear Mohammed express his mind on this acceptance of a Hindu as the absolute political leader of the 62,500,000 Mohammedans of India. The resolutions of the Congress set forth as one of its goals the "consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India

whether Hindu, Mussulman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew." It soon appeared that this alliance of Hindu and Mussulman was wholly unreal.

An Indian gentleman in the Punjab, who expressed his own opinion to me that Hindu–Moslem unity was a pure fiction, told me that he had not long before asked Lala Lajpat Rai whether he thought there was any reality in this union and that Lajpat Rai had tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Don't ask such questions." One could wish that there were reality in these movements. After Christ one of India's greatest needs is unity. One of the things she needs Christ for is the unity which He alone can bring. There is no unity to-day. "The Hindu–Moslem entente is only superficial," writes a friend in India. "The feeling among Hindus themselves is anything but a feeling of unity. The Marathas are against the Brahmans and even the barber caste is claiming that it is as good as the Brahman caste and as much entitled to wear the sacred thread." The last three years have been full of worse outbreaks of antagonism between Hindus and Mohammedans than had been known for decades. An enemy of India might desire the perpetuation of the old anarchy of Hinduism. One reason why those who love India want to see her come to Christ is because they are convinced that it is only through Christ that a solid and veracious unity can ever come to her.

11. No mistake is greater than that of the friend whose letter I have quoted earlier in this chapter who thought that Christian Missions were an intrusion in India because India already has religion. She does, but not a religion that will meet her needs. The Viceroy made a speech while we were in India before the University of Benares, the new Hindu University,

commending the great objects of the institution, "to preserve and foster all that is noblest in Hindu ideals, in Hindu life, in Hindu thought, in Hindu religion, tradition, culture, and civilization. You have also implanted, in its natural soil," he added, "what you think beneficial for your purpose of Western science, Western industry, and Western art, so that your young men when they go out into the world should not only be equipped with the teachings of Hindu tradition but also with other knowledge which somehow or other we in the Western world have managed to acquire. And consequently when they have to take up their avocations in life, they will not only be fitted religiously and ethically to fight the battle of life but will also have the necessary equipment for more material progress."

It is desirable that all that is noble in India's past should be conserved. That is one reason why India should be Christian. Only Christianity can conserve her noble past for her. But that is not the only reason. Neither for their avocations, which is a small matter, nor for their vocations, which is a matter of consequence, will the young men of India be fitted by what is noblest in their past or by what they may borrow of Western science, industry and art. India needs one thing more, greater than all these, of which any viceroy and especially Lord Reading might have found it difficult, if not impossible, to speak to the University of Benares. She needs Jesus Christ, the only Saviour and Lord.

"I have tried to show," says Sir William Hunter in the preface to his most sympathetic little book, "A Brief History of the Indian Peoples," "how an early gifted race, ethically akin to our own, welded the

primitive forest tribes into settled communities. How the nobler stock, set free from the severer struggle for life by the bounty of the Indian soil, created a language, a literature, and a religion of rare stateliness and beauty. How the absence of that very striving with nature which is so necessary a discipline for nations unfitted them for the great conflicts which await all races. How among the most intellectual class the spiritual and contemplative aspects of life overpowered the practical and the political. How Hinduism while sufficing to organize the Indian communities into social and religious confederacies failed to knit them together into a coherent nation."

Modern India is full of great and worthy visions. One of her best loved and most justly trusted leaders, Mr. Ranade, put them in words, "With a liberal manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly to all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and lastly with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached. This is the promised land." What will thus renew India? Not the vision of it, not the longing for it. Only He who says, "Behold I make all things new," and who makes nations new by making new men. The renewal of India depends on the renewal of Indians by the one Redeemer who can cut away the barnacles of retarding and debilitating sin and who can reproduce Himself in men as the spring of a new joy in their spirits and as the power of a new life in their nation.

LECTURE IV

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO SOUTHERN BUDDHISM

IF a Buddhist, interested in the religions of the world, were to visit our country with a desire to learn what American Christianity is, how would we wish him to proceed? We would certainly urge him first of all to read the New Testament. This, he would probably say, he had already done, or if not, that he would gladly do it, and was happy to find that the original, authoritative books of Christianity were so small and so accessible. But he would probably add that he knew from his own experience that the actual religious life of a nation was often widely at variance from its sacred Scriptures, and that one of the things in which he was most interested was the character and amount of this variance, and that what he would like most of all would be simply to wander among the common people and study their daily life with its moral practices and religious observances. We should have to answer that his method of procedure was just, but we should say that we would be sorry to have our American Christianity finally judged in this way, as many of our people were only perfunctory Christians or Christians not at all in any deep, personal way, and that we should like to have him check the judgments which he might gather from such general observations by personal interviews with our religious leaders. It might not be without misgivings that we would urge this course upon him.

He could so easily meet with official leaders whom we could not commend to him but whom he would be justified in regarding as men of authority. He might meet them also at unpropitious times or find them careless or hasty or superficial or incompetent. But these are all risks which he and we would have to take and we could not complain of his forming his own conclusions and reporting to his people at home a judgment based on these three sources of information, our sacred books, our common life, and our religious leaders.

It is in just these ways that we have sought to study the religious life of Siam and the character of Siamese Buddhism, and I shall try to set down here some report of talks with Buddhist priests.

One conversation was with a group of young priests in a new, gaily decorated temple in the city of Prae in northern Siam. Most of the temples which one sees in Siam are either very old or else, by reason of wear or neglect, have the appearance of old age. Hitherto the repair of temples which others have built has not been regarded as a means of religious merit-making for the repairer. The King is seeking, sensibly and with effect, to introduce a different sentiment and to persuade men that the preservation of the old temples is as meritorious as the erection of new. This temple was either new or as good as new. Elephant bells hung around the cornice and along the roof ridge. The pillars and doorways were glittering with coloured glass and new gilt. The great alabaster-faced image of Buddha gazed passively down the temple walls, newly painted with scenes of Buddha's earthly life. A dozen young priests and some boys from the temple school gathered around us, and we asked them

when Buddha was born and in what country he had lived. Oh, said they, he had lived so long ago that they did not know when or where it was. Could they tell us then any facts about him? What had he done or said? Did they know what he had taught about God? No, said they, they were sorry they could not tell. Was there then not something else, about which they could tell us, that he had taught men? Oh, yes, they said, he had taught them the Siamese and Lao languages. What was this great idol looking down upon us? we asked. It was the image of Buddha, they replied. He had given them this image and told them that it was a true image and bidden them to worship it. Could Buddha hear and help, we asked? Yes, he could, they replied. Well, then, was he not in Nirvana, and in Nirvana is it not true that men neither see nor hear nor feel, but are freed from all consciousness and action and desire? Of these things they could not say, and of what Nirvana might be they could not tell. Well, then, we asked, where was Buddha? In heaven, they said. And where is heaven? Above us, they answered, pointing upward. And was Buddha God? Surely yes, they declared. And was he the only God? No, there was another one who was to come from heaven, too, the Buddha of mercy, Prah alaya mettai.

When we pressed them further about the meaning of religion and the thought of God, they could only answer that they knew only that Buddha was he, that the idol was not he but only the image of him. It was a friendly group eager to hear our questions and earnest in their answers, but most of them were only boys, representative of that great host of lads who, after the ancient but now relaxing custom of Siam,

were expected to spend a few months at least in the priesthood before going out to take up the responsibilities of men. They did not know much and their ignorance was representative of the religious ideas of great masses of the people. Before we judge too harshly, however, it would be well for us to reflect upon what a Buddhist visitor to America might meet with under corresponding circumstances in our own land.

I turn from this to an experience of a quite different character. He was a clever, intelligent, open-hearted priest in the Pak oi Wat in Chieng Mai. It was the fifteenth day of the waxing moon, one of the Buddhist holy days, and I had gone to the wat with the hope of attending a Buddhist service with Dr. Campbell of Chieng Mai, a missionary who knows the sacred books of Siamese Buddhism and understands the ways to human hearts, including the hearts of priests. Entering the temple, we found that we had come upon a sort of ordination service. Two young men were passing from the first to the second order, from the diaconate to the full priesthood, as it were. The older priest who was conducting the service saw us as we stood in the doorway and, calling to us, cordially invited us to come in and to sit down near him. The two young priests were seated on mats before the altar, on which, raised high, were three images of Buddha draped in yellow and white and red. Beside each of the young men lay a great pile of gifts, new yellow robes, pillows with ends embroidered in silver, white umbrellas, candles, pieces of coloured printed cloth, new begging bowls with red and yellow bands to hang them about the neck, brass basins, and near by, for each young priest, a great dinner waiting in a dozen different bowls arranged on a tray. Behind

the boys were members of their families, mothers especially, and other women kin for whom such an act as this of the boys was the greatest merit-making that could be. These had their little bowls of fruit and flowers whose heavy fragrance filled the temple. We hesitated to intrude on such a ceremony, but one of the young priests picked up a cigarette and lighted it, pleased apparently at the interruption, and the older priest in charge was so genial and urgent that we came in and took our places beside him.

"I am a stranger from abroad," I said, Dr. Campbell translating; "may I ask whether these young men have a great love in their hearts for Buddha?" "They hesitate to reply for themselves," said the older priest, "but I will answer for them. They are indeed truly devoted to the Buddha's religion and desire to give their lives to it." "And will Buddha help them and be with them?" I asked. "Do they love him as their friend and do they have the comfort of his companionship?" "Oh, no," was the reply, "Buddha is gone to Nirvana and he cannot hear or help or walk with men. We have only what he was and what he taught. It was for that reason that he left this image, that we might remember him and the Way which he found." "But," we urged, "is there no God to whom they can look for help?" "Oh, yes," said he, "they pray towards the Coming One." He meant the next Buddha whose coming he believed Buddha to have foretold, and whom, far and wide, the Siamese Buddhists at least, dimly expect, and some of them not dimly but earnestly.

"But where is the Coming One?" we inquired. "Is he not somewhere now where he can be reached?" "No," said the priest, "he is not born yet." "But

surely," we said, "there must be some God back of all these men who were not and who then are born and who then die and are not any more. The world was here, and men and women were here before Buddha came. Who made these?"

"Yes," he answered, "all these were here before Buddha, but there was no God before him nor any need of God. People were all good then and needed no deliverance from sin and no revelation of a Way, but they fell into evil. Then in mercy, Buddha came down to give them help."

It was early morning and we had made appointments which called us away, but we asked our friend whether sometime during the day, the country people would not be coming in with their offerings. Could we come back then? Yes, indeed, he said, by all means. Early in the afternoon he would be glad to have us return. The people would be there then.

So early in the afternoon we returned. Alas, the temple doors were locked, and we went away disappointed at our loss and also in the trustworthiness of our friend of the morning. We had scarcely left the temple grounds, however, before we saw coming towards us a procession of yellow-robed priests, followed by worshippers bearing bowls of lacquer and silverware filled with offerings. In the midst of them was our friendly priest. He greeted us cordially and told us that they were now on their way to the temple with the offerings. Would we not return with him? So we joined the procession and went back. The temple doors were unlocked and we passed in. The two young priests resumed their places and just behind them clean mats were spread for us. Beside us, on a raised platform, sat the older priest, talking freely

with us and explaining all that was done. Behind us sat the other folk with their offerings, the sweet, heavy odours again filling the temple. A temple attendant brought the offerings to one of the younger priests who held a great fan upright before his face and recited slowly the five commandments. Then while the temple attendant laid the offering of fruit and food before the images and prayed for their acceptance with many a monotone of Buddhist prayer and, in ideas never learned from Buddhism but caught from Christian influence, asked "that we all might be brought to the heavenly home where death and sorrow may not come," our friend the priest took up the conversation again. He asked what my work was. Why had I come so far? and expressed the hope that my errand might be prosperous.

I replied that I was travelling to see the minds of men and was chiefly interested in what men thought about God and the world, and in the truth that they believed they had found. He said that this was good, that all men must seek the truth and could only rest when they thought they had found it. I replied that the truth that I had found which seemed the best of all truths was that God who had made all the world, was the Father of us men and loved us and would live with us. "Even so," he said, "all men seek happiness. Surely in heaven it will be found and beyond heaven there is Nirvana." "Yes," I answered, "but I do not want a Nirvana beyond heaven, an extinction beyond joy. Lives I love have gone forward into those strange places and I want to meet them and know them again." "Oh," said he, "I believe that even in Nirvana we shall have our friends and know and be known." The chant of the man who was

praying before the images rose and fell. To whom, I asked, was the man praying? "To Buddha," answered he. "And is Buddha God?" "Yes," he replied, "I think of him as God." "And why then the idols, these three in yellow and red and white?" "Oh," said he, "to please Buddha, men may rightly make these images, one man one, and another another, until there are many tokens of our love, symbols of our remembrance." I brought away, when we left, one of his old rosaries which he gave me, and sent back to him some gifts, including the New Testament, which he promised to read, and which will confirm to him that hope of the future life which he did not learn from Buddha but which glows irrepressibly in the human heart.

Another conversation we had one hot afternoon on the road between Lampoon and Me Tah. We had stopped to rest in the shade beside a wayside market booth in the forest. A little boy with paralyzed legs, crept on his hands and knees from out a near-by hut, and an aged blind woman followed him begging alms. A Buddhist priest sitting near by might or might not have seen them. He was from a monastery near Lampang and had been at Lampoon helping at the funeral service of a great priest there. The number of priests in many of the temples has fallen off so that men must be called sometimes from other cities to these services. The opinion of such a priest as this would be valuable. I told him I was in doubt as to the meaning of Nirvana. Did it mean, as some held, complete extinction, or did it mean conscious bliss? Which of these was the goal and hope of Buddhism? He answered that he thought Nirvana would be a place of perfect, conscious happiness.

"Will we know one another there?" "I do not think we shall." "Is Buddha there?" "Yes." "Where is Nirvana?" "I do not know." "Will we know Buddha there?" "Yes, I think we will." "Who will attain Nirvana?" "Those who have obeyed and followed Buddha." "What will become of that great majority of men who never heard of Buddha?" "I do not know." "Well, if Buddhism is so good and indispensable, are Buddhists doing anything to spread the knowledge of it through the world?" "I do not know." "Do you not think that if they believe in it they ought to spread it?" "Oh, if any are trying to do so, well and good, and if not, good and well." A missionary sitting by gave some help to the old blind woman. The priest rose and went on his way.

The Buddhist Church in Siam appears to be a very loose institution with nothing either in its local temples or in its national system at all corresponding to the efficiency and compactness of our church organization, but there is a head or chief priest of all Siamese Buddhism, Prince Vajiranana, an uncle of the King of Siam, and one of our most interesting conversations was with him. He was a small, lithe man of ascetic appearance, clad in a simple yellow robe, characteristic of Buddhist priests in Siam, in accordance with the traditions that Buddha chose this style of dress because of its rude or despised associations. The Prince understood English and spoke it slowly and accurately, but in the warmth of conversation constantly dropped it for Siamese and asked to have most that was said in English interpreted. In the large audience room of his palace in connection with one of the great temples of the city, was a sort of

throne pulpit from which he received in state, but he met us in a most friendly and simple fashion in a small, adjoining library. Several missionaries were in the party and he knew well who we were and why we had come, and met us with the cordiality and responsiveness of a gentle and truly religious man. His spirit, far from being passive and inert, was vivacious and intensely alive. We told him that we were more deeply interested in the religion of Siam than in anything else that we had seen, and wondered whether he could recommend any book, in English, if possible, which gave a just account of the Buddhism of Siam. "I could name several books on the subject," he answered, and then ignoring such books as Fielding Hall's "The Soul of a People," and Alabaster's "The Wheel of the Law," he added, "but the only one which I would approve is Rhys Davids'." We asked him whether Buddhism really was one religion or whether Siamese Buddhism did not differ radically from the Buddhism of Japan and China, and also whether, judging from the conversations which we had had with Siamese priests, Siamese Buddhism must not be regarded as widely different also from the Buddhism of Ceylon, for certainly the thoroughgoing Buddhists of Ceylon regard Nirvana as annihilation or extinction, and of all whom we had met in Siam, only one man could tell us of having ever heard a Siamese Buddhist speak of extinction as the goal of being.

"Yes," replied he, "northern and southern Buddhism are distinctly different, and beside this radical difference there are many sects in Buddhism just as there are in Protestantism, but I do not think that these sects matter much in either case. I can tell the difference between Protestantism and Roman Catholi-

cism, but not between the Protestant denominations." We asked him whether our impression was correct that the Buddhism of Siam differed from the Buddhism of Ceylon fundamentally in its idea of the ultimate life of the soul. Perhaps it did, he thought. As for himself, he believed in the transmigration of the soul, which was an older idea than Buddhism and had been taken up by it, and which promised the soul a final purification and an eternal conscious happiness after the long struggle between good and evil had been wrought out. Some years ago, he said, Dr. John Fox, secretary of the American Bible Society, on his visit to Siam, had presented him with a Bible and asked him to read it, and told him that he would pray for him as he read. He had read it and he thought the New Testament idea of eternity was very much the same as the Siamese Buddhist conception of Nirvana. Some, he knew, taught that Nirvana meant extinction. He did not believe this but thought that evil would be extirpated and that good would abide, and that the soul would come at last through all the wheeling processes of its experience to perfect holiness and calm. He had read in the Bible of the Holy Spirit and Satan, powers of good and evil that now work and war in man. These powers Buddhism recognized, but only as forces, not as in any sense personal. Indeed he could not accept the Bible teaching regarding a personal God and Jesus Christ as a personal deity. He could not embrace any conception of personal deity. Did this view, we asked, account for the use of images of Buddha which might take the place of a personal thought of God?

Images, he answered, were simply a reminder. They had been originally forbidden in Buddhism but it was

easy to explain their origin. In his own case we might have noticed in the adjoining room a throne or pulpit from which he spoke. When his friends wanted him to come to some distant part of the country, he found they had an altar ready for him on which he might sit. Even in his case it would be an easy thing for his friends to take the next step and during his absence to put his image there as a reminder of him. This is all that the images of Buddha were. But, we asked, did Buddhists not worship Buddha as God? No, he replied, certainly they did not. Buddha was simply a great teacher who had discovered the way and left behind the treasure of his example and his teaching. But, we asked again, did Buddhists not have an idea of God beyond Buddha, of a supreme personal ruler of the universe? No, he answered, none. The universe was not to be explained in terms of creation and sustenance by a personal God. The world and all things, mountains and trees, stars and suns, are all simply the effects of natural causes, and these causes are themselves the effects of causes which preceded them. Buddhism knows only Buddha and nature, but it has no personal God nor any idea of God at all. There was no flinching. It was the most authoritative voice in Siamese Buddhism. And it disclaimed God.

In the great throne hall begun by the late King of Siam and now completed, there is an interesting symbolic painting high up on the wall above the entrance from his Majesty's palace. At the top of the picture and painted with a skill that makes it stand out as though it were carved relief, is a great figure of Buddha. Just below is the Siamese throne with the King seated upon it and gathered around are the

representatives of the great religions of the world. Its meaning is not altogether clear. The Siamese gentleman who explained the picture to us did not regard it as representing the submission of all religions to Buddhism, but rather as the friendly assembly of all in the tolerant freedom which has prevailed in Siam. We asked Prince Vajiranana what he thought the future of religion in the world would be. Would there be just one religion throughout all the earth? If so, would that religion be some one of the present religions, or a composite of them all, or a new religion? Or would each religion keep in general its own present territory? No, he replied, there would never be one. Traditions and family loyalty, the conservatism of race and of individual conviction, national and personal obligations would hold men to their own inherited faiths. How, we might have asked, but did not, under such a principle, could Buddhism or any other religion ever have begun? All religion, he continued, was essentially the same. Strip away the ceremonies and the doctrines and the ethical substance which is left is the common law of truth and honesty and love. The unification of mankind in obedience to this common moral law and in the bonds of human brotherhood is the real goal. All proselytism is sectarian and ought not to be. But is the spread of truth, again we might have asked, proselytism? Is it not the duty of those who know or who believe they know to share their knowledge? Can men who have God refrain from offering Him to men who have not? Whatever truth we have, are we not bound both to hold and to propagate? "Your Royal Highness," asked one of the missionaries, as we were about to leave, "is it right for Buddhist parents who have a Christian

son to try to force him into the Buddhist priesthood, and ought such a son, out of filial loyalty, against his convictions, to enter the priesthood to make merit for those he loves?" "No," replied the Prince and chief priest, speaking straight as a man, "no, men should be true to their real convictions." And then he added kindly to the missionary who had asked the question, and who had been a long time in Siam, "I hope that you will stay in our country and will not go away."

The missionary will stay, and missions will stay. They have a word for Siam which Buddhism has never spoken and can never speak, the word of a living God come close to humanity and saying, "I am come a light into the world. He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness but shall have the light of life. I am come that ye may have life and that ye may have it abundantly. I go to prepare a place for you, and if I go I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also. Come unto me and be alive forevermore." And Buddhism in Siam is in some real sense a preparation for this word.

Siamese Buddhism is classified with the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon as Southern Buddhism, preserving the orthodox Buddhist traditions, and quite distinct from the Northern Buddhism of China and Japan, which, as a whole, and even more radically in some of the sects of Buddhism in Japan, has separated itself in many fundamental respects from the doctrine of Gautama. The assumption, however, that Siamese Buddhism, which is the largest body of orthodox Buddhism, is faithful to the primitive ideas, is unfounded. The moment it is examined, or any of its responsible interpreters are questioned, it is discovered to be full of heresies. And it is of interest and significance to

the missionary enterprise to note that each of the heretical departures of Buddhism in Siam represents a step towards religious truth which Buddha either did not know or denied, and offers a distinct point of contact with Christianity. Such variations, moreover, have to do with the most central and important differences between the Christian faith and Buddhist doctrine.

These points of contact are well known to the missionaries in Siam and guide their methods of approach to thoughtful Buddhists. The difficulty is that thoughtful Buddhists are so few and that even those who are thoughtful are so ignorant of Buddhist history and teaching. In many temples the young priests can tell a visitor nothing whatever about Buddha, not one fact or tradition about his earthly life, and what they offer as the teaching of Buddhism is something that no imagination can trace back either to Buddha or to the early teachers. And while there are multitudes of better informed Buddhists who do know the story of the Founder's life, who have read some of the sacred writings, and who have some ideas of Buddhist philosophy, nevertheless even among these there are few who know what the original teaching was or who realize how far away they have drifted from it. Their ideas can be made points of contact in the presentation of Christianity, but they have no realization that these ideas represent any departure from the traditional faith in the direction of a religious view more diametrically opposed to the Buddhist view than to any other in the world. It is easy, accordingly, to overestimate the apologetic value of these points of contact between Siamese Buddhism and Christianity, as the small fruitage of the work in southern Siam

testifies. Such heretical departures from error have not brought men into the truth or enabled them to recognize it when they see it in its fullness. But it is worth while to examine such points of contact as there are, as it would seem quite clear that by the way of some of them the road will lie over which the Buddhists of Siam will come to the true Light towards which they have unconsciously been feeling their path.

1. The first and fundamental heresy of Siamese Buddhism is its disposition to believe in God. In the words of Rhys Davids, whom the head of Siamese Buddhism regards as the most acceptable and trustworthy Western interpreter of Buddhism, and from whom the otherwise uncredited quotations in this discussion are taken in order that the representation of early Buddhism may be one that Siamese Buddhists would approve, Buddha's religion was one "which ignores the existence of God." "The original teaching of Gautama knew nothing of God and taught that Arahants, holy men, were better than gods." The Buddhists of Ceylon who do preserve, as they claim, the true teaching of the Buddha, have issued a Buddhist Catechism which aims to set forth uncompromisingly the original doctrine. "Did a god creator call the world into existence by his will," the catechism asks, and it answers, "There is no god creator. Only the ignorance of man has invented a personal god creator. The Buddhists, however, absolutely reject the belief in a personal god." And in the supplementary notes the catechism says, "Buddhism does not deny gods nor does it attribute to them any special importance. It simply does not need them either as a prop to its ethics, nor for the attainment of salva-

tion. Whoever wishes to believe in God may do so, only he must not forget that the gods, like all living beings, are perishable and subject to rebirth . . . and that the saint who has reached perfection and, above all, the Buddha, is far superior to all gods." But the hearts of the Siamese people will not accept this doctrine in either its agnostic or its atheistic, or its rather pitifully polytheistic form. They insist on feeling, at least, the reality of a great mystery behind the world and with increasing clearness they have come to think of a great creator and benevolent ruler of all things. For many years this faith has grown in articulateness and in acceptance. It has not extirpated the barren doctrine of Buddha, but it has coloured it with the heart's irrepressible longing.

2. In its need of God the Siamese heart has either deified Buddha himself or conceived of him as a messenger of the deity, or, more dimly, has insisted on looking forward to some one yet to come out of the unseen who shall satisfy the heart. There was nothing in Buddha's teaching to sanction such ideas as these. "Was Buddha a god's messenger?" asks the Buddhist Catechism, and answers unequivocally "No." "Was he then a human being?" it continues. "Yes, he was born a human being." The earliest documents represent "the historical Buddha to have taught that he was the latest of a series of seven Buddhas." The Siamese believe that he was the fourth of five Buddhas and, unsatisfied with Gautama, they look for the coming of Metteyya or Maitreya, who will bring the fullness of truth and of satisfaction to human hearts. Buddha's own declaration was that after his death he would live only in the doctrine which he left behind him for the guidance of his followers. The Siamese

Buddhists believe that he lives still, and to the great mass of them he is as God.

3. As proof that they feel after God it is sufficient to note that the Siamese Buddhists have fallen into the heresy of prayer and as evidence of their dimly theistic thought of Buddha it is to be said that it is to him, either the historic Buddha who was and who still lives in their view, or to the unseen Buddha who is to come, that they pray. Alone in the temples before the great images for the things that they want in their business, on their farms, or in their homes, and together in great companies praying unitedly or through the voice of the priest, the Siamese people seek to supplicate or commune with God. But this is the repudiation of the doctrine of Buddha. "Buddhism does not acknowledge the efficacy of prayers. . . . The original teaching of Gautama acknowledged no form of prayer," says Rhys Davids. And the Buddhist Catechism declares, "Prayer and sacrifice do not exist in the Buddhist religion."

4. In the fourth place Siamese Buddhism retains a great mass of the animistic ideas and practices which marked the religion of the people before they took up Buddhism. In this they have exemplified the statement which Rhys Davids makes broadly of Buddhism everywhere: "Buddhism has never been the only belief of the mass of its adherents who have always also revered the powers of nature under the veil of astrology or devil worship, or witchcraft, or the belief in pantras and charms. . . . Not one of the 500,000,000 who offer flowers now and then on Buddhist shrines, who are more or less moulded by Buddhist teaching, is only or altogether a Buddhist." This intermixture of animism is especially noticeable in

northern Siam among the Lao people, whose real religion has been and is the worship and propitiation of spirits, but throughout southern Siam also the little spirit shrines are erected outside the houses or the spirit shelf put up within, and men whom the barrenness of Buddhism with its introversion of all the outward longings of the soul could not satisfy, have held fast to the primitive animistic superstition as providing at least some less mocking spiritual nourishment.

5. Not so much Siamese Buddhism as the human heart in Siam has turned utterly away from Buddha's injunction to extirpate all longing for happiness. This was the commandment of primitive Buddhism. The follower of Buddha was to think "of all things that worldly men hold good or bad, power and oppression, love and hate, riches and want, fame and contempt, youth and beauty, decrepitude and disease, and regard them all with fixed indifference, with utter calmness and serenity of mind." The mental state that was to be sought was to be "without sorrow and without joy, by the destruction of previous gladness and grief, by the rejection of joy, and the rejection of sorrow." Every desire, whether for existence or annihilation, for happiness or joy, according to the Buddhist Catechism, "must be conquered, got rid of, relinquished, harboured no longer." Such a proposition to the human spirit is of course both an absurdity and an impossibility. Buddha's whole life was a seeking. The very terms in which Buddhism tries to state itself are morally and intellectually self-contradictory. The only possible result of trying to comprehend them and live by them is either intellectual anarchy or the philosophy of delusion in which the mind's only relief is a state of auto-anæsthetization. Or else the human

spirit refusing to be befuddled simply goes its natural and inevitable way, seeking for the pure joys for which it knows that it was made and which it knows that it was made to seek, and to seek consciously and with all its will. This is what the mind and heart of Siam have done. They have not escaped the narcotic, torporizing influence of Buddhism, but neither have they surrendered the desire for a real and active happiness and sunk in Buddhism's morass.

6. It is not a point of contact with Christianity which the heresy of merit-making through vicarious sacrifice and service presents, and yet there are ideas involved in this thought as it is accepted to-day in Siam which are at variance with primitive Buddhism, and which open the mind to larger and freer conceptions. Buddha "constantly maintained that there was no merit in outward acts of self-denial and penance" performed for one's self or in behalf of others. "Cannot the Buddha by his own merit absolve us from the consequences of our guilt?" the Buddhist Catechism asks. "No," it answers, "nobody can be saved by another. No god and no saint, so teach the holy books, can protect one from the effects of one's evil deeds. Every one must work out his own emancipation. The Buddha has only shown the way for every one to become his own saviour." Guilt and suffering, merit and reward, the catechism teaches, are always purely individual and balance each other. There are contrary ideas in the mind of Siam. The son enters the priesthood to make merit for his parents. The vicarious principle receives no such rejection as it has met with in orthodox Buddhism.

7. The doctrine of transmigration is not the living and efficient idea in Siam that it was in primitive Bud-

dhism and is still in orthodox Buddhist philosophy. To say that the conception is not widespread and powerful would be a mistake. It is a comfort to fall back on it as a possible explanation of many intellectual and moral problems. But as a working truth in a personal life it is utterly destitute of comfort, and men who live in a space and time world and who have to do all their thinking in its terms are unwilling to have all their most vital interests toyed with by a doctrine which attempts to solve the general problem of suffering but is useless to the man who suffers and worse than useless to the man who watches the sufferings of those he loves. Because the Siamese have human hearts they feel this, and their feelings are more effective than their speculative philosophy in shaping their lives.

8. Primitive Buddhism, far from being the simple, happy life which early Christianity was, had many martinet, formalistic elements. Its precepts and counsels were marked by a numeralistic precisionalism and it developed a body of rites and forms which led later to a dispute as to whether these were original or imitated from Romanism. The Pitakas described an elaborate initiatory service for admission to the Sangha, or priesthood. The monks were to sit in a certain order, the candidate was to appear with a certain equipment, perform certain specified acts and ask three times specified questions. The whole ceremony was enjoined in detail. And not only with the members of the Sangha, but also to lay followers, religious rites are important and indispensable, as the Buddhist Catechism says, "to remind him of the true significance of life, to divert his mind from the temptations of the world, and to constantly set before him the highest goal." Let any one watch an ordination cere-

mony in Siam or frequent the services in the temples, or study the proceedings of individuals, and he will see how indifferently and carelessly accurate forms and rituals affect religious life in Siam.

9. The strongest movement in Siam to-day is the effort to produce a sense of nationality, of conscious political individuality in the state. Siam greatly needs the development of such a consciousness. As has been pointed out elsewhere, the King is seeking with much sagacity to produce it and is making use of Buddhism as a national religion as one of his agencies of nationalistic education. But Buddhism held that "such states of mind as co-exist with a consciousness of individuality, with a sense of separate existence, are states of suffering and sorrow." It is the will to live and to serve, to fulfil and to realize one's life which the Buddhist Catechism decries as the chief curse, the source of all sorrow. Siam is seeking to develop its resources, to increase its wealth, to enlarge its prosperity, to advance the happiness and well-being and joy of its people, but the Buddhist Catechism says that these are the very things from which Buddhism seeks to free us. "He who considers the abandonment of earthly pleasures and enjoyments as a painful renunciation," it says, "is still far from true wisdom. But he who views this abandonment as a deliverance from worthless, vain and troublesome things, from oppressive fetters, looks upon it from the right point of view."

10. Lastly, the people of Siam through and in spite of their Buddhism look forward longingly to a future of eternal, conscious, personal bliss. Orthodox Buddhism "denies the existence of the soul," and there is doubt as to just what Buddha thought was actually to

be the end of the thing that we call soul, and whose existence Buddhism denies, but with which, whatever it is to be called, religion has to do. Childers was absolutely sure that Buddhism's ultimate goal for the soul was complete extinction. "The word Nirvana," he said, in his Pali dictionary, "is used to designate two different things, the state of blissful satisfaction called Arhatship, and the annihilation of existence in which Arhatship ends . . . there is no annihilation without Arhatship and no Arhatship that does not end in annihilation. . . . Nirvana is the annihilation of every conceivable attribute of being." "They who by steadfast mind," says the Ratana Sutta, "have become exempt from evil desire, and well trained in the teachings of Gautama; they, having obtained the fruit of the fourth Path, and immersed themselves in that ambrosia, have received without price, and are in the enjoyment of Nirvana. Their old Karma is exhausted, no new Karma is being produced; their hearts are free from the longing after future life; the cause of their existence being destroyed, and no new yearnings springing up within them, they, the wise, are extinguished like this lamp."

Rhys Davids cannot bring himself to think of the goal of Buddhism as annihilation. He regards it as "the extinction of that sinful grasping condition of mind and heart, which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence." And this is what the Buddhist Catechism calls it,—"A state of mind and heart in which all desire for life or annihilation, all egotistic craving has become extinct and with it every passion, every grasping desire, every fear, all ill will, and all sorrow." The catechism recognizes the difficulty of a

definition, and adds, "Only one who has himself experienced it knows what Nirvana is, for how can that be called a state of mind and heart which has an existence after the mind and heart have been extinguished?" In a note the catechism faces this difficulty, "Nirvana literally translated," it says, "means to be extinguished for want of fuel. From this the inference has been drawn by some that Nirvana signifies nothingness. This is an erroneous opinion; on the contrary, Nirvana is a state of the highest spiritualization, of which indeed no one who is still fettered by earthly ties can have an adequate conception. What is it then that is extinguished or blown out in Nirvana? Extinguished is the will-to-live, the craving for existence and enjoyment in this or another world; extinguished is the delusion that material possessions have any intrinsic or lasting value. Blown out is the flame of sensuality and desire, forever blown out the flickering will-o'-the-wisp of the 'ego' or 'I.'" According to Buddhism there never was a soul that craved, and now in Nirvana the craving that was without a soul is also gone. If there is anything in Nirvana to be experienced, what is there to experience it? Indeed the catechism frankly adds that the ulterior Nirvana, "in the sense of other religions and of scientific materialism, is indeed total annihilation, complete dissolution of the individuality, for nothing remains in Parinirvana which in any way corresponds to the human conception of existence."

But as all this is supposed to be addressed to human beings, and to have to do with their interests, and as all that it proposes to human beings is their utter extirpation, they have never been willing, and they never will be willing to live by it. Either Nirvana becomes

an utter unreality to them, or it dissolves into the hope of a conscious personal existence in heaven. With one or two exceptions every Buddhist with whom we talked in Siam said that his idea of Nirvana was a state of the highest possible conscious, personal bliss, and the chief priest himself, as I have reported, told us that in his view Nirvana corresponded to the New Testament idea of a perfect and eternal heavenly life.

In other words, Buddhism has become in Siam not a mere personal moralism, not a negative atheistic philosophy ending in a mist that cannot be penetrated, and of which nothing intelligible can be said, but a religion of hunger and search, not eager, but feeling after the very light and joy which Christ came to bring in their abundant fullness to every man.

How then shall missions set about their task of commending Christ to Buddhists in Siam? Let us answer first by an illustration and then by a record of a clinic in comparative religion.

The sower went forth to sow. This time he did not go alone. Half a dozen of his friends accompanied him, so that when he grew weary they might take up the work each in his turn. The field was the market-place of Tap Teang in the lower peninsula of Siam, and it was on the first of the market days of last June when this little band of sowers took possession of their corner of the market-place to sow the good seed of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The great sheds covering an acre or more were crowded with the people from the little farms and villages scattered through the jungle and along the streams. Each one who had brought produce to sell paid his cent and a half as he came in at the door-

way for the privilege of trading for this one market day. The sower and his friends were always there on market days and they paid twenty-four ticals, a little less than $10.00 for the annual privilege of their sowing place in the corner of the market.

The long platforms that ran all around the market and to and fro across it were crowded with the sellers, sitting side by side with their wares before them. Here was one with great, live fish that leaped out of the basket, and here was another selling fish also, but the odour of her goods proclaimed that her fish had been dead for many a day. There were long, round fish which live in mud and can make their way over the ground from one pool to another. There were live pigs roped in crates and carried suspended back downwards from long poles. And there were bunches of bananas and pineapples fresh from the gardens, and many fruits and vegetables such as an American boy or girl never saw. There was a Chinese taffy man making his taffy in the middle of the market. There were little cubes of grey clay for the people suffering from hook worm, who liked to eat dirt, and there were balls of brown Siamese butter made of decayed, pulverized fish. There were miserable little trinkets imported from India and Europe, with cheap, tawdry cloths, not to be compared with the well-woven, home-made *panungs* offered near by. Here and there were restaurant booths offering food and drink, the very sight of which would send shivers through visitors from abroad.

Up and down along the platforms moved the crowds of men and women and little children, many of them ragged and not many of them clean, but all of them cheerful and contented, with that fatal contentment

which is the great curse of peoples to whom the earth supplies a livelihood too easily and whose wants do not drive them to arduous toil. Although a tropical sun was beating down, men and women alike were modestly dressed, and only a few little children roamed about naked, save for one little piece of tinsel jewelry tied around the neck, and another around the little loins. What was there to life for these but the little round of eating and drinking and lying down to sleep? Did life hold more meaning than this for any of them?

Then the sower stood up to sow. A song first in some familiar tune of the people and then in a strange tune from a far-off land caught the attention of those who passed by and they stopped to listen. Behind the sower hung a great map of the world and he pointed out on it the lands east and west and spoke of the brotherhood of those who dwelt in them and of such a brotherhood as possible and real only in a Fatherhood such as Jesus Christ revealed. At this, an old man with the face of one of our Revolutionary sires, but clad simply after the fashion of the Siamese farmer, in an ample waist cloth, stopped to listen. What he heard was strange to him but it pleased him, and moving up towards the preacher he told him that what he was saying was surely true. The old man's soul was as soil broken for the sower, and over the soil made ready, he cast forth his seed. This Father of all was also the Maker of all. How better could the wonder of our bodies and the marvel of the world be explained? And were there not deep needs in our own hearts which called out to such a Father for His help? Indeed there were, the old man assented. And these very needs, the preacher went on, the Father had sent His Son into the world to meet, and he was there

to tell of this Son, of the light which He would give to the darkness of our hearts, and the peace of forgiven sin and the security of a strong and steadfast succour. This was a good message, said the old man, and he sat down on the edge of the platform from which the sower was sowing his seed.

Then one of the friends of the sower stood up, and speaking to the old man, who had already taken it for granted that the message was meant just for him, said that he wished to bear testimony of what he himself knew. Had the old man in crossing his river, or fishing in the stream, ever longed for a secure pole standing steadfastly against the current to which he could tie his boat? Indeed he had, said the old man. Well, just such an anchorage had this friend of the sower found in Christ, and as just such a steadfast friend could he commend Him to every man. At this the old man decided to lay aside whatever other errand he might have had and drew his feet up from the ground and settled himself for the rest of the day on the platform, by the side of the sower and his friends, and there, where above his head the winds blew to and fro the map of the world and the American continents which was by the old man's side, he sat and drank in for the first time, the wonderful story so dear and familiar to us.

One by one three other old men, drifting by in the crowd, were caught by some word just as the first old man had been, and first sat and listened and commented, and then turned to speak one to another of this which they had heard.

As the day wore on the crowds thinned out and wore away. Those who had come in in the morning laden with the produce of their own toil, turned home-

ward with that which they had taken in exchange, and presently the sower and his friends wrapped up their map, gathered together their books, put away the teapot and cups from which any had been free to help themselves during the day, and went off to their homes. The old man also arose and turned his steps homeward too, but he went out not as he had come. New thoughts of God were in his heart, and that which had been planted there was a seed which could not die. Next year that which had been a seed this year will be a blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear. The sower will be visiting soon the old man in the village to which he returned, and he will find there a group of people to whom the old man has told the wonderful tidings that came to him that June day in the market-place in Tap Teang.

Not far from where the sower stood, on a platform from which the vendors had gone away, and at the very moment that the old man was listening, eager and intent, to the words of the sower, a Chinese opium smoker lay down beside his lamp. A few rags covered his emaciated body. A foot from which festering ulcers had eaten away the heel, protruded from his rags. Wearily he pushed the opium into his pipe and drank in the benumbing, soul-deadening smoke. Little by little he slipped away into the degradation that is worse than death. Little by little in the same hour the light that is life was beginning to shine upon the soul of the old man who sat listening to the sower's word. We who were there and saw, as we left the sower and his friends, and the old men who hung upon their words, passed by the opium smoker in his despair and shame, and from the market walked out on the wide road that leads down to the river Trang,

thinking of what we had seen in the place where men traffic in Tap Teang, of the Saviour and sin, both at their work in human lives.

The clinic also was held in Tap Teang in the province of Trang, monthon of Puket, in the lower peninsula of Siam. The participants sat in the broad passageway that ran through the missionary's house and served as dining-room, reception-room and library. It was the hot season and the tropical sun was blazing without. Across the lawn was the jungle from which the tropical birds were calling. Pineapples, cocoanuts, pomegranates and a score of fruits were ripening in the garden. Village people and lonely dwellers in the forest passed silently by with their burdens in a many-coloured stream of life on the road by the jungle edge.

The clinic was in the nature of a study of the power of Christianity and Buddhism to meet human need. It was not an academic study from a distance of ten thousand miles. The participants who provided the material were men who had been brought up in Buddhism, who knew it thoroughly from within, who had honestly tried its Way and who having now as honestly tried Christianity and known it also from within, were able to make such an intelligent and authoritative comparison as cannot be made by Western Christians who have learned Buddhism only from books, or by Eastern Buddhists who may not have studied Christianity at all, or who have derived their knowledge of it only from nominal Christians. Only a few steps away was a Buddhist wat with its shed of Buddhist images, its palm-thatched house of priests and novices, and its wat school for the boys of the village. Some of the priests in their picturesque yellow robes passed by on the jungle road as we talked together, with their

chelas bearing their rice bowls after them. For centuries upon centuries the influence of Buddhism had lain upon the land and the clinic was held against a background of reality. We began with the question, "What was it that you did not find in Buddhism that you did find in Christianity? And was this the actually compelling reason for your acceptance of the Christian faith?"

Loop made the first reply. He was a short, shy man who had been for seven years in the Buddhist priesthood. For all these years, he said, he had felt the need of a Saviour. That need Buddhism had not met and had not professed to meet. Buddha had succeeded only in saving himself and had frankly told his disciples that he could not presume to save any one else,—that every man must be his own saviour. And how indeed could Buddha save or help? The salvation which he himself had sought and attained was annihilation and, annihilated in Nirvana, how could he aid those who were still struggling in the toils of life? There could be no access to Buddha, for Buddha himself had ceased to be. His Buddhist prayers, Loop said, he came, as he meditated, to realize, reached no one. An extinguished Buddha could not hear them and the Buddhist doctrine was that there was no god to hear. All that Buddha could do he had done. He had left his example and his exhortation. With these each man must work out his salvation for himself. It came, accordingly to this, that if Buddhism was true and Buddha had attained extinction by his Way, then there was no saving help from him for man. If there was such saving help from him for man and if he could hear and answer prayer, then Buddhism was false and Buddha had not attained the end he sought.

Not to salvation, but to this despair, had Buddhism led his heart. With joy and deliverance he had learned of the living Saviour Jesus Christ by whom, as the present and accessible power of God, he had a salvation that was real now and rich with abounding and eternal significance forever.

Sook was the second to make answer. He also had been for years in the priesthood and he proceeded to contrast his present Christian experience with the precisely opposite experience of his life in the wat. In the first place, he said he had then no assurance of faith. There was nothing that he could rest upon that gave him security of his salvation. He had no consciousness and he could make no satisfactory calculations that the merit which he was accumulating would wipe away his sins. In the second place, his Buddhist longing for a guarantee of the perpetual remembrance of his good deeds was met by Christ's assurance that He would personally remember even a cup of cold water given in His name. Buddha had given no assurance. How could he do so? How could extinction and remembrance consist together? Even on the grounds of securing a man's accumulation of merit, Sook's heart had turned to Christianity, for here was a living Master who would keep record in His personal remembrance. And what remembrance could there be with the dead master with whom Buddhism bade his heart to be content? He knew of no memory but personal memory, and that was precisely what Buddhism did not provide. In the third place, Christianity offered in many places, of which John 3: 16 was one, a true and living Saviour from sin.

There was none such in Buddhism. It knew absolutely nothing outside of one's self that could take

away sin. The only escape must be by the sinner's own deed and in proportion to the inexorable profit and loss account of his acts. But in Christianity the sin was taken clean away and atoned for. And the loftier thought of salvation was accompanied by a deeper view of sin. In Buddhism he had never felt that he was a sinner against Buddha, and there was no god against whom to sin. He was a sinner because he had sinned against himself or broken the law, and the law itself had been to him only a human way and not a Divine will. In Christianity he saw sin in profounder meaning and in significances of which Buddhism with its deadening interpretation could not conceive.

The third to speak was Choon. He had been a novice in the wat but had not gone on into the full priesthood. He had come to the mission hospital suffering with pleurisy and, although the medical missionary was away on furlough, the missionary nurse in the hospital had been bold to operate to save his life, and he was up and about now, though still needing to carry in his body the drain for his disease. He had been taught Buddhism from his earliest childhood and he was only a child now in the Christian faith, but the contrast which impressed him most was between the Trinity of Buddhism and the Trinity of Christianity. In Buddhism the Trinity consisted of Buddha, the Three Baskets of the Law, and the Priesthood. With two of these three, Choon had been well acquainted. The Baskets of the Law he had studied and the third party of the Trinity was made up of his neighbours. But the first person of the Buddhist Trinity he could not know, and with him he could have no contact at all. Cut off from any help from

Buddha, could the Law or the Priesthood help him? As he had said, he knew them both well, and no help whatever had they ever given him, and no help could they ever give. They had no eternal life for him here and when he died there was no help that they could offer him for the world to come. He need not speak in contrast of the access which he had to the Christian Trinity and of the love and help and saving power and eternal hope which it had brought to him. He would only add that Buddha had never impressed him as the owner of his life, nor had he ever been regarded by him as a providence thinking and caring for his life, but he looked now to Jesus Christ as his personal proprietor and the guide of his way and the complete sovereign of his soul. Jesus, moreover, in a whole realm of being strange to Buddha, had made atonement for his sin and taken it far away.

The clinic was interrupted at this point greatly to its enrichment by the visit of the Chinese laundryman of Tap Teang, Kuon Luing, "Sunny Jim," the missionaries called him, and he came in upon us like a sunburst with his genial smile and irrepressible, contagious laughter. He had been for sixteen years in America and had been baptized as a Christian in the Green Avenue Methodist Church in Brooklyn. He had returned to southern China and then from southern China had come in the great immigrant invasion of the Malay peninsula and found his way to Trang and then inland through the jungle to Tap Teang. He was himself an incarnate treatise on comparative religion. Whoever wished to compare Christianity and Buddhism needed only to look at Kuon Luing and his neighbours. His life bore witness to the light of the knowledge of the glory of God which shone in the

face of Jesus Christ. His pride in his two children, not his boy only—that would have been intelligible—but in his older daughter also, was in itself the manifestation of a new social principle in the community.

When Kuon Luing had gone, both taking away and leaving behind the light of his countenance, Ah Toon spoke. The other three had been Siamese, but Ah Toon was a Chinaman. He had been originally Dr. Dunlap's coolie, then his cook, but his quick intelligence, his true life and his earnest faith had commended him for the evangelistic work which he was now doing with steadily increasing power. Buddhism, said he, was a thoroughly worldly religion. There was nothing heavenly about it either in its origin or in the offers which it made to the human heart. It did not lay claim to any divine origin. Buddha had plainly declared that he was only a man, that he had discovered his doctrine for himself. All the conceptions of the religion were earthly conceptions. It had none but earthly springs from which the thirsty could drink. Christianity, on the other hand, had come down from above. Its central principle, the atonement, its central doctrine, the cross, had never been conceived by men nor come from man. The offers which it now made to men were offers of life and strength in God. Here, notably, the words of John's Gospel were true of Christianity in its contrast with Buddhism, "No man has ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven. He that cometh from above is above all. He that is of the earth is earthly and speaketh of the earth. He that cometh from heaven is above all."

All this had been in answer to the inquiry as to what

it was in Christianity which had had living and drawing power to them, and why Buddhism had left them unsatisfied. Their answers seemed to reduce themselves to a flat charge of atheism against their old Buddhist thought. To clear up this point accordingly, we asked them whether they were prepared to stand by this charge. What had they actually thought of God in their old Buddhist days? It soon appeared that their Buddhism had been a logical atheism, but that it had never been able to extirpate the fundamental faith of the human heart in God. Had that faith, we were also anxious to know, avenged itself against Buddha by making him the God whose existence he had denied? Loop replied that he knew that Buddha was not God, for Buddha had, as a matter of fact, worshipped gods outside of himself, but that he knew that when he himself had been a Buddhist he had no thought of God and had not regarded Buddha as God, for Buddha had died and attained extinction, so that he could not be God. All this was true of his own religious experience, Loop said, and yet he must add that when he was in the priesthood he had a vague idea of a great author of his life, and at times he had vaguely worshipped Him and prayed to Him as "Most Gracious Father." He and the other men thought that, both in the temples and in common life, the Siamese people had this dim idea of a universal and benevolent fatherly providence, greatly obscured by Buddhism and its images, but indestructible and asserting itself in times of trouble and distress. The idea did not come from Buddhism, for it lay behind Buddhism and could not be reconciled with it. In times of storm in the northeast monsoon, along the Gulf of Siam, the sailors, they said, would often fall

on their faces and, forgetting their Buddhism, call aloud, "O most Gracious Father, still this tempest," or "O most Gracious Father, send a favouring wind." Ah Toon said this idea had not been as strong with him before his contact with the Siamese as it had been since, and that he believed it came from a strain in Siamese thought closely akin to the ideas of natural religion in the West.

The influence of the late King, who had accepted many Christian ideas, had promoted phraseologies in official addresses, recognizing a divine personal providence. In taking leave of General Grant on his visit to Siam during his journey around the world, the King had said, "May the One who is supreme in all the universe and who controls in the affairs of men and who governs the elements, guard, keep and defend you in your journeyings." Dr. Dunlap believed that such language, often repeated by the late King, had encouraged the ideas of natural religion, and he quoted an oath of office taken by judges in one of the criminal courts, running, "Buddha, the Scriptures and the Priesthood, and the One who is supreme in the universe, who knows the hearts of all men, who is present with all men, who knows the deeds of all men, be witness to me that in taking this appointed office I should discharge all my duties in truth and fidelity." It was true, the men thought, that ideas like these only occasionally forced themselves forward, and that the thought of God needed by the soul was associated in the minds of the common people with the images of Buddha, and that by the ironical judgment of time the great teacher who had discarded God had been punished by deification, and that before his own image in ten thousand temples men knelt down for a wor-

ship which he had taught them was destitute of meaning and of power.

The character of Christ fills so necessary and effective a place in Christian apologetics at home, and has of late years filled so large a place in missionary apologetics on the foreign field, and in the study of the relations of Christianity and the non-Christian religions, that we asked this little group in Tap Teang what elements in Christ's character most impressed their minds and hearts, especially in comparison with the character of Gautama. We were greatly surprised to have them deliberately pass by the direct point of our inquiry. It turned out that it was not the human character of Jesus which interested them at all, but His meaning for their experience as a present supernatural Redeemer and Lord. These aspects of Christ as an eternally efficient and saving person filled all their horizon, and they were not specially interested in letting Him down, as it seemed to them, to the level of the man Gautama, and comparing the two in their earthly lives. And yet now that they were put to it, the comparison interested them, although they would not have thought of attaching much importance to it in this form.

"The conception of Christ's character which appeals to me," said Loop, "is the New Testament doctrine of Him as the creator of all things, showing the wisdom and beneficence of His character in the creation. I like also the thought of Jesus as the light of the world, enlightening men spiritually and shedding a great brightness upon the soul. But the supreme reason for my belief in Jesus and my loyal attachment to Him, is the Cross. The Cross and its revelation of the character of Christ distinguish Him from all other

gods that I have heard of, and Christ's dying for sinners is superior to anything that I have heard asserted in any other religion."

"Jesus' life on earth," said Sook, "far transcended the life of Buddha. The latter was all centered in himself, while Christ's life did not center in Himself. He went about doing good to others and meeting human need. This attracted me to Jesus. And yet, while Jesus helped people whom He met while He was on earth, this would never have saved mankind or me. The transcending thing is that Christ, in order to save man, laid down His life for sin. Buddha did nothing to save men except to teach them what he believed was the way in which they might save themselves."

"Buddha, in walking over the world," said Choon, "met misery and fled from it. Jesus met it, endured it and miraculously helped it. He did not abhor the sight of suffering. It appealed to Him and He went to it. I think there is a good deal of similarity of teaching between Buddha and Christ, but their inner principles were fundamentally different. Buddha begged bread, Jesus supplied it." Upon being reminded of the two contrasted sayings,—Buddha's, "I am no man's servant," and Christ's, "I am in the midst of you as one that serveth," Choon answered, saying, "Yes, those sayings are both true."

"To me," said Ah Toon, "this is the great contrast, —the confidence and assurance of Jesus against Buddha's uncertainty. It is said that Buddha taught the way to heaven, but all he did was to exhort men to acquire merit, and I do not believe that he ever assured his disciples that he or they had attained the heavenly way, but Jesus did. 'I am the Way. I go

to prepare a place for you. Whither I go ye know, and the way ye know.' "

These were all of them simple men, untrained in any Western school. They had never read and could not read an English book. They did not possess a single commentary or expository volume in their own language, but they had learned from the New Testament, and from their own hearts, where what Professor Denney calls the " center of gravity " in Christianity is to be found, and by their own instinct and under the leadership of the missionary teaching which they had received, they had gone straight to " one of the most prominent and enviable characteristics of the New Testament religious life." As Professor Denney describes it in his volume on Second Corinthians in " The Expositor's Bible ":

" Christ is on His throne and His people are exalted and victorious in Him. When we forget Christ's exaltation in our study of His earthly life—when we are so preoccupied, it may even be so fascinated, with what He was, that we forget what He is—when, in other words, a pious historical imagination takes the place of a living religious faith—that victorious consciousness is lost and in a most essential point the image of the Lord is not reproduced in the believer. This is why the Pauline view—if indeed it is to be called Pauline and not simply Christian—is essential. Christianity is a religion, not merely a history, though it should be the history told by Matthew, Mark and Luke; and the chance of having the history itself appreciated for religion is that He who is its subject shall be contemplated, not in the dim distance of the past, but in the glory of His heavenly reign, and that He shall be recognized not merely as one who lived a perfect life in His own generation, but as the giver of life

eternal by His spirit to all who turn to Him. The Church will always be justified, while recognizing that Christianity is a historical religion in giving prominence not to its historicity, but to what makes it a religion at all—namely, the present exaltation of Christ. This involves everything and determines, as St. Paul tells us, the very form and spirit of her own life."

This quotation was in our minds as we asked our friends one last question. "In what forms or in what modes did they have fellowship with this living Christ?" "I love Him so much," answered one, "and my heart is so loyal to Him that I am ready to die for Him." "Yes," we suggested, "but that is talk of an experience not real to you. What is He to you in the experience that is actually real?" "All I can say," was his reply, "is that no other presence is more distinctly with me." "I am sure," said another, "that I often see Him in my heart." "As for me," said a third, "surely His presence is true and to bring to Him all of life is an experience unknown in Buddhism." "The only way I know," said the fourth, "is the way of fellowship by faith, of life through death."

It was not a great deal of Christianity that these men knew, if by "great deal" we have in mind masses of facts or systems of doctrine, but it was a great deal that they knew if by "great deal" we have in mind the core and inward principle and saving grasp. It is possible that they might not have known as much as this. Let the reader judge and the issues of life decide. It is possible that they may have known much more and that we might have found it if the conference had not ended then with the coming of a Chris-

tian woman from a distant village to bring a present of mangoes to the visitors from afar. She was a woman whose father, fifty years ago, had groped his way from Buddhism towards God through looking at the wonder of the human hand which God had made.

How long will it be before all of Siam follows him into the spiritual wealth for which Siamese Buddhism itself is seeking?

LECTURE V

THE MOST OPEN DOOR TO ISLAM

IT is an easy thing anywhere in Asia to talk with men on the subject of religion. Nowhere is it easier surely than in Persia, where the subjects of conversation are few and where the interests of men are elemental. Outside of the cities not two per cent. of the people are literate, and in most of the towns and villages there are few if any books, no post-office, no newspaper, no news, and no new thoughts. Yet the land is full of intellectual curiosity and interest. In every tea-house the men are happy to listen to any one who will bring them information of the world or lift their thoughts off their ceaseless talk about barley and debts and the passage of the days and daily bread. The wise itinerating missionary can go anywhere and find those who will listen to him with friendly interest.

Colonel Gray, formerly the British consul in Meshed, and an earnest Christian man, who cared for Dr. Esselstyn, the pioneer missionary to Meshed, in his last illness and laid his body to rest in the little cemetery beyond the city walls, and Sir Mortimer Durand, formerly British minister in Persia and later British Ambassador to Washington, have both told me of the delight with which they used to listen to Dr. Esselstyn talking to the people. Colonel Gray knows Persian well, but he said that each time he heard Dr. Esselstyn speak he learned something more, as he heard him with

a skill that entranced his auditors, putting the truth of Christianity to them with a more perfect command of their own idioms of thought and speech than they themselves possessed and finding no difficulty in setting forth the Christian truths in a way that silenced the thoughtless and sent the thoughtful away thinking new thoughts about Islam and Christ.

Sir Mortimer told the Student Volunteer Convention in Nashville in 1906 of sermons which Dr. Esselstyn had preached even in Shiah mosques on the invitations of the mollahs, sitting down beside them on the preacher's pulpit and talking with the kindness and skill which seldom lack a cordial response in Persia.

Nowhere in the Moslem world can the Christian preacher find more points of sympathetic contact than among the Persian Mohammedans. The Persians are Shiah Mohammedans and are looked upon as heretical by the great body of Mussulmans. The division between the Sunnees or orthodox Moslems and the Shiahs or sectaries began in the first generation after the prophet. The Shiahs claim that the Caliphate should have descended through the family of Ali, the cousin of Mohammed, who married his daughter Fatima. Ali who was the fourth Caliph was assassinated and his sons were killed. From that day the Shiahs and the Sunnees, while both Moslems against Christian foes, have been at enmity with one another. Their chief points of difference are: 1. That the Shiites reject Abu Bekr, Omar and Othman, the three first Caliphs, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the Sunnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imams. 2. The Shiites prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem them both equal; but the Sunnites

admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Mohammed. 3. The Sunnites charge the Shiites with corrupting the Koran and neglecting its precepts, and the Shiites retort the same charge on the Sunnites. 4. The Sunnites receive the Sunna or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority; whereas the Shiites reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit. . . . (Sale: "Koran," Preliminary Discourse, Section VIII.)

The Shiah theology is a very simple theology of five Roots and ten Branches. The five Roots are: (1) The unity of God. (2) Justice, asserted as a principle of the divine character over against the Sunni conception of rigid and arbitrary sovereignty. As between free will and determinism Shiah theologians say that A Middle Statement is as close to the truth as they can see. (3) The Prophets, 124,000 in all, of whom Mohammed was the last. (4) The Imamate, wherein they differ most from the Sunnis. (5) Eschatology. The ten Branches are religious duties which the Shiah theologians arrange in five pairs: (1) fasting and prayer, (2) pilgrimage and holy war, (3) the giving of one-fifth to the Sayids and one-tenth to the poor, (4) treating the friends of God as one's own friends and the enemies of God as one's own enemies, (5) the duty of guiding others towards the truth and the duty of warning others against infidelity. Every point offers opportunities for sympathetic religious discussion.

Mr. Pittman, of Tabriz, whose knowledge of Persian, Armenian and Turkish and constant study of Shiah theology, and wide and sympathetic contact with the people, are making him, in spite of his modesty and self-effacement, one of the most efficient leaders

in the evangelization of Persia, has no difficulty anywhere in avoiding profitless controversy and in setting forth the loving but plain-spoken truth. I asked him what his method of presentation was, and he said it was always the simple positive presentation of the Gospel, (1) our need of a Mediator, challenging his hearers to find one verse in the Koran which called Mohammed by the name of Shafi, the word for mediator in the Mohammedan traditions, (2) our need of a perfect example which could not be Mohammed, who in the simple matter of marriage had forbidden his followers to follow his example, for he had had nine or eleven wives but had limited others to four, and (3) our need of a Divine Power to follow this example. Who met these needs but Christ?

One day as we rode along together on the road between Zenjan and Tabriz west of Nikbai, I asked Mr. Pittman whether the ordinary Persian villager knew anything about Roots and Branches or the points of his religion. "Yes," he said, "the Shiahs regard this knowledge as important." Towards the close of the afternoon after a long, hard day's journey we came to the village of Sarcham. Just before reaching the village we had to ford twice a swift brown river. The road had run beside the river at the foot of a high hill, but had been entirely cut away by the stream, and with customary improvidence the Persians let it go and submitted to all the inconvenience and dangers of the double ford. With the same improvidence they had allowed the fine old brick caravanserai built by Shah Abbas between the hill and the village to fall into complete ruin. The only lodging places were the mud-walled, mud-roofed houses of the village and the big plain behind them where the camel caravans

encamped. At Sarcham I went up on the roof of the gate house of our lodging place and spread out my shoes and stockings and puttees, which had been soaked at the ford where two of the horses had fallen in the water, to dry in the warm Persian sunshine. The load horses had not yet come in, and while we waited Mr. Pittman sat down in the shaded street just beneath me and was soon surrounded by a little group of a dozen men and boys in pleasant conversation. Presently from the roof I asked the little group below if they all knew the Roots and Branches. "What did it matter?" they replied, "whether they knew them or not?" I explained to them that I was a stranger from America visiting Persia and interested most of all in what the Persians thought about the greatest questions of life, and that I wanted to be able to tell the people at home whether the Persian people really knew their own religion. Thereupon all of them avowed that they knew the Roots and Branches, and one of the men at once named the five Roots, but none of them would go on to name the ten Branches.

As soon as the drift of our conversation had become evident one of the boys had slipped away, and just at this point he returned bringing with him a pleasant-faced man whose dress indicated that he was a Sayid, or descendant of Mohammed, and after the customary respectful greeting to and fro, and an explanation of what our conversation was about the newcomer named over the ten Branches. Then I asked them why, if it were a duty to go on pilgrimage to the holy shrines, no roads had ever been built to make this duty easier for the weak and the weary. Mohammedanism, one would think, with its requirement of pilgrimage would have been the great road-building

religion. As pious Mohammedans had been wont to lay up merit for themselves by building shrines and bridges, why had they not served their religion equally well and laid up for themselves much merit by building also good roads? The Sayid answered that the roads were an affair of government, and that the government took no interest in religion. But I replied that for many centuries the religion and the government had been identical. In those days when Church and State were one, why had not the roads been built? The Sayid answered that it was for fear of other countries, that good roads and railways opened an easy path for foreign invasion, but he admitted that the real reason for this and many other defects in Persia was the lack of religious zeal in government and people alike. I suggested that one strong evidence of this lack of religious zeal was the total absence of the missionary spirit in Persian Mohammedanism. He himself could see what the missionary spirit in Christianity was doing for Persia. They replied that it was true that they were sending no religious teachers to other peoples, but that it was the duty of these other peoples themselves to seek the truth which they needed. When they came of their own accord looking for the truth, then the Shiah Mohammedans would be glad to teach them.

But were they sure, I asked them, that they had the truth and that they themselves did not need to go in search of it? A good part of the world believed that of all men they needed to seek it most. Perhaps this was so, they admitted, and they were not unwilling to seek. Well then, had they ever read the Bible to which their own Koran bore witness or were they willing to read it? No, the Sayid said, he had never seen

the book although of course he knew of it and was very willing to study it. At this point one of the men who had slipped away a few moments before returned, bringing with him a white turbaned mollah. Again, in the pleasant, leisurely way of the East, friendly greetings passed to and fro until at length the course of conversation passed back to the Bible again, and the mollah remarked that he had a copy of the New Testament which he had secured in Zenjan and of which he had read a little but not all, and he did not have it with him at Sarcham. On my part, I told him, I had read the Koran and had my copy with me. Had he read enough of his copy of the New Testament to gain an impression of Christ's character, and if so, how did it compare with the character of Mohammed? Upon this there was much discussion in which some of the group at first claimed Mohammed to be superior, but at last they all agreed in the view, or at least in the statement, that while a claim of superiority in behalf of Mohammed might be made on the basis of the Koran, they were of the opinion that in reality Christ and Mohammed were of equal character. I asked them what they made of the fact that Mohammed died and that was the end of it, and that Christ died and rose again. All waited for the mollah to answer. "Outwardly," said he, "it is true that our Prophet died, but inwardly he lives and is nearer to us than our jugular vein." This is a favourite figure of speech with Persian Mohammedans.

Yes, we asked, and did he have conscious spiritual communion with Mohammed, and could he tell us where in the Koran Mohammed had authorized this idea of a conscious spiritual fellowship between his immortal spirit and the faithful believer? No, he

could not cite the sura of the Koran in which the idea could be found, but with undiminished earnestness he repeated his metaphor of the jugular vein. "But that is not for us common people," one of the laymen broke in. "What the mollah says may be very true, but such ideas are only for him and the Sayids and mujtahids. We common men know nothing of this communion with the Prophet as close as our jugular vein." Looking up I saw the load horses coming through the ford, and our little gathering broke up in friendliness and good-will, the mollah promising to read his New Testament through, and he wrote down his name on the fly leaf of my pocket Testament, "The name of this despised one is Jalal-ud-din of Khalkhal," and that we might have his name in order to send him a Bible from Tabriz, the Sayid wrote down his name also, "Sayid Khalil of Sarcham."

I have told this simple incident not because it is unusual in any way, but because it is so truly representative. Everywhere in Persia the missionaries and the Persian evangelist find unending opportunity for friendly and hospitable talk about the Gospel. Controversy and hostility can, of course, be easily aroused, and now and then a Mohammedan ecclesiastic will seek to break up a household or a village gathering. But such occurrences are exceptional, and with tact and kindness the Gospel can be preached almost anywhere in Persia, and almost invariably with response.

"What was it in Christianity," we asked some capable young men in Tabriz, one of whom had been a mollah and who had come from Islam to Christ, "What was it in Christianity which made appeal to your mind and heart?" "Its inward power," replied the ex-mollah. "Other religions work outwardly,

Mohammedanism most of all. It is a religion of statutes and performances; Christianity works within men's hearts with a living spiritual power." "I agree," said another, "and I would like to add the love of God, shown to the world through Christ. Islam knows nothing of a God of love sacrificing Himself for us." What Islam needs, they agreed, is to have the power and love of Christianity made clear to it with love and power. "Yes," we asked them, "but what is the best way to present the Gospel to Mohammedans?" This is one of the two supreme missionary problems in every field. The other is how we who preach Christ may also live Him in illustration and verification of our preaching. And this is a problem for the Church at home as well as for the missionary abroad. "The best method of presentation," said the mollah, "is to compare the foundations of Christianity and Islam, to make the Mohammedan understand there is something he does not know or possess. Mohammedans think they have all the truth. They must be shown that they do not have it." "No," said one of the others, "in this I do not agree. From my experience I believe that comparison creates antagonism. I believe that we should show the love of God positively. This is the principle I follow, just to preach Christ. If we make comparisons, then people must defend themselves."

What the Christian converts from Mohammedanism in Persia regard as the weakness of Islam and the attractions of Christianity, and what they believe to be the best method of approach to their fellow Mohammedans are set forth in an ingenuous and instructive way in the answers which a score or more of these converts gave to a set of seven questions sent out by

Mr. Wilson of Tabriz. I am glad to be able to quote some of these answers which Mr. Wilson let me copy. They come from all types, educated and ignorant, men and women, young and old, from different social levels. As indicated in the answers to the first questions, some had been Christians for long years before their open baptism. Others were recent believers. The questions were as follows:

(1) How long have you been a Christian?
(2) In what ways did Islam fail to satisfy you?
(3) What first attracted your attention to Christianity?
(4) What brought about your conversion?
(5) What has Christianity done for you?
(6) In trying to convert Moslems should Christians argue with them on points of religion?
(7) What do you consider to be the best methods to be followed in winning Moslems to Christ?

The following are representative answers:

———— Khan ————, of Teheran:

(1) Four years.

(2) 1. Lack of salvation. 2. The corruption of the priests. 3. The law of Mohammed being a copy of the Mosaic Law. 4. The qualities of God. 5. The shrines. 6. The person of Mohammed having very shameful qualities.

(3) The sinlessness of Christ. His crucifixion for our salvation. The firm faith of the missionaries in Him. Their kindness to the Gentiles.

(4) Reading the Holy Book. Speaking to the Christians on religious truths. Going to the Church and other religious meetings.

(5) It has saved my life. It has given me inward peace and happiness, and a firm belief in the world to come.

(6) No.

(7) The method to be followed is to show them the corruption of Islam, and their hopelessness to be saved through a man who was a sinner himself. Proving to them, by quoting some verses, that no prophet should come after Christ and through Christ alone salvation could be received. Showing them the loving kindness of God and His desire to receive us in His Heavenly Canaan above. It is advisable to ask them to read the Bible from first to end; and also to kneel down and ask God to help them in finding the true way that leads to salvation.

———— Khanim, of Teheran (woman):

(1) Eighteen years.

(2) 1. Because I found out that Christians were not looking for any prophet to come after Christ. 2. Because Islam failed to satisfy my spiritual desires.

(3) The Messianic Prophecies.

(4) A Heavenly vision.

(5) Christianity has quenched my spiritual thirst. I can forgive and I have protection against sin.

(6) It depends upon persons.

(7) 1. By our conduct. 2. Make them understand that Christ is the First and the Last. 3. To show them with great patience that they have nothing by which they can be saved.

Mohammed ———— Khan, of Teheran:

(1) One year.

(2) 1. The opposition of the Koran with the Heavenly Books. 2. The opposition of the verses with each other in the Koran. 3. The self-loving of Mohammed and taking the wives of others by the verse which he made for his lasciviousness. 4. The words of Mohammed did

not give me peace at the heart. 5. The untruthful actions of the Moslems and the lack of love between them. And thousands of other things which cannot be mentioned.

(3) Reading the Word and knowing that it is true. The treatment by Christians of each other according to the Gospel and their sincere love to each other.

(4) As the one who asks this question is a Christian, of course he knows that conversion will not happen unless by the help of the Holy Spirit; and if one has not received the Holy Spirit, he has not been converted; and if he has not been converted, he has not known Christ.

(5) I was a sinner and Christ has forgiven my sins. I was dead and He has given me the everlasting life. I always was afraid of death, but now being anxious to see Christ, I am ready to meet the death. My heart was always beating because of the fear of sin, and I was living in trouble, but Christ has comforted me and given me an external peace, and I know the blood of Christ has cleansed my sins and I have part in the blessing with Him.

(6) Yes.

(7) In the first place a Testament should be given to him, to read it attentively, in order that the Word itself may lighten his heart. Then the cutting sword, *i. e.*, "The Mizan-el-Haq," should be given to him, so that, if he is a conscientious man he may understand that Mohammed was a false prophet.

Mirza ————, of Teheran:

(1) Fourteen years.

(2) It takes a long time to answer this question, but the most important thing which unsatisfied me was this, that Islam was not able to give me peace at heart.

(3) At first reading the New Testament, then speaking with somebody.

(4) In the time of conversion I felt that I entered a new world.

(5) Christianity has given me peace at heart and has delivered me from the punishment which was due me.

(6) Yes.

(7) In the first place ask him whether in the time of death his heart is at rest or not, and then it should be proved for him that there is nothing in Islam which can give one peace of heart. Prove for him that Mohammed himself was a sinner. He must be told that there is nothing in regard to the coming of Mohammed in the New Testament.

Mirza ————, of Tabriz:

(1) Eight years—on probation six months.

(2) The proper foundation for world relations I had long considered to be love but I found no love in Islam. I never found assurance in Islam as to what the final state of mankind would be. Mohammed was himself a sinner as proven by his own prayers and verses from the Koran and can never bring salvation to the world.

(3) I worked with a Christian and heard his conversations with Kasha Moorhatch and especially saw his good life.

(4) Reading the New Testament and holy books of other religions.

(5) My conscience and heart are at peace and I have *assurance of Salvation.*

(6) The first thing to show is Christian Life—let him compare that. Then discussion is sometimes profitable.

(7) 1. Christians must live according to the program set forth in the New Testament. We must strive to live like Jesus. 2. We must endeavour to find what obstacles lie in men's minds and remove these obstacles. 3. We must endeavour to coöperate to the fullest extent in keeping converts from going astray. 4. Just as we must plow before we sow seed, so small tracts and words scattered here and there are necessary to prepare Moslems to accept preaching and the New Testament. We must first

awaken the sleepers of Islam before they can see and understand the Truth.

B. ———, of Meshed (woman):

(1) Almost five years.

(2) All I found in Islam was superstition. There was no salvation.

(3) I came in contact with the English missionaries in Kerman and heard the Bible read.

(4) My husband was converted first. I saw the change in him, so I knew it must be right.

(5) It made me secure in my home. I was childless for many years and relatives suggested that my husband divorce me or take another wife. He did neither. Then the last few years I have been sick a great deal. If we had not both been Christians we could never have lived together.

(6) If they understand Islam it is all right to argue; but if they don't understand, it is useless. The best way all round is to live the life that will illustrate your words.

———, of Meshed (woman):

(1) About four months.

(2) I was never happy, but did not know why. My husband mistreated me. We quarreled constantly, and there was nothing in life for me.

(3) My husband's changed life.

(4) My husband's patience with me, and his teaching me the Testament.

(5) It has made me happy, and now in place of quarreling and jealousy we are happy and have confidence in one another, and I know Jesus is my Saviour.

(6) No experience as yet.

———, of Meshed:

(1) 14 months since baptism.

(2) Three years ago I saw the mollahs were corrupt,

and they defended themselves by saying they are following Mohammed. Now I see Persians being made Moslems at point of sword.

(3) Reading a Bible which a native Christian had given me.

(4) I saw how different Jesus was from Mohammed and that I had been deceived. My heart became bright, and I believed.

(5) Before, I loved evil, now I love good. Before, I abused my family, now I am kind. Before, I used to ride over people on the street, now I won't hurt any one. Before, my heart had no rest, now I have peace.

(6) Sometimes it is necessary to argue fiercely.

(7) We must not live in sin, as Moslems do. We must prove Christ's divinity from the Bible. We must sell Scriptures, but try to follow up and explain. A hospital and Sunday meetings are a help.

Mirza ————, of Meshed:

(1) 14 months since baptism.

(2) I saw that there was nothing but lying, stealing, oppression, pride, etc., from the days of Mohammed till now. I saw that the mujtahids were not at one in their beliefs and teaching, and so some of them must be wrong.

(3) The love and character of the missionaries.

(4) The love of Christ in enduring the most terrible sufferings for me.

(5) I think my conduct has improved. I am happy now, as I was not formerly.

(6) It is necessary.

(7) We must mingle with men and be kind to them. We must talk with them, proving the truth of Christianity. Selling Scriptures without follow up by personal conversation, etc., is of no value. Reading Room, Hospital, etc., not bad, but work of Christian brethren more important.

I give these answers in all their simplicity and naïveté. Here and there an imitative note appears and there is much that will grow into more. But these are genuine lives. And the work from which they have come is genuine work.

The most powerful although for many years it may seem to be an indirect approach to a nation or a religion is through its women, and the next generation will reveal, as we cannot estimate it now, the immense influence which Christian missions are exerting upon the world in the quiet work which they are doing for the women and girls of the non-Christian lands. The Christian ideal of woman, the redemption and the release of her immense creative energies for social progress, the enrichment of life which she is to make when first her own life has been enriched by Christ, these things change the face of every society to which they come. No society needs them more or will be more profoundly influenced by them than Persia. They will revolutionize the villages of Persia, turning to usefulness forces of womanhood which now are wasted or worse than wasted in the deterioration which they effect in home and community life. The doorway to the new Persia through the hearts and minds of the village women, now so empty of all but deadening manual toil and the animal activities of life, is wide open to the approach of Christian women and the interests and expansions and purities which they bring with them.

"Your prophet has done well for you Christian women," a Moslem woman once remarked to Mrs. Hawkes after watching Mr. and Mrs. Hawkes together on one of their itinerating trips to the villages and noting the courtesy and thoughtfulness of a Chris-

tian man towards his wife. "Khanim, your Prophet, did well for you Christian women. Our Prophet did not do so well for us. I shall have words with our Prophet when I meet him in the next world. And I am going to stand by the open gate of Hell and watch the men of Islam march in first."

One day on the road near Turkomanchi, where the treaty of peace was signed between Russia and Persia in 1828 which took away from Persia its territories between the Caucasus Mountains and the Aras River, we met a Mohammedan farmer and his twelve-year-old boy on their way to the village. He was a kindly, friendly soul, intelligent but simple-minded, and he walked along beside the horses almost the whole farsakh to Turkomanchi. It was a nice village, he said, of about five hundred houses. There had been seven hundred, but the famine of two years ago which wiped out many villages of western Persia had destroyed not less than two hundred households here. As to politics, he thought the Shah was a good man trying to help his country. Had he not organized an army and sent it to fight against that terrible Kurdish bandit, Ismael Agha, who had turned the Urumia plain into a desolation and from whom the ragged, penniless refugees were fleeing whom we were even then passing upon the highway? Yes, it was a very bad highway, he admitted, as the horses struggled through the deep mud, very bad indeed, to be the one highway between the two most important cities in Persia. But as soon as Ismael Agha was repressed, America was coming to build roads for Persia.

As to religion, yes, he prayed and his son. For what? For the peace and prosperity of the country, for happiness and for health. There were four

mosques and five mollahs in Turkomanchi, and, oh, yes, they were good men. "Was there polygamy in Turkomanchi, and how many wives did Islam allow?" "Five or ten," he replied, "or forty or fifty, as many as a man might want, but our village is a poor village, and no one has many wives there." But on further testing he hedged in his numbers, and he did not know what the Koran had to say. But no one could have all these wives at once; only five at one time perhaps, and the others in succession. Was divorce so easy as this, we inquired, and were these rights and obligations mutual? "Yes and no," said he. "A man can divorce his wife when he will, but not a wife her husband; and a man can beat his wife, if necessary, but no wife might beat her husband." Well, how many men were accustomed to beat their wives in Turkomanchi? "Oh," he said, "there were several good women whom it was never necessary to beat." How many wives beat their husbands? we inquired. Were there not many men in Turkomanchi who deserved a good beating, and was there any adequate reason why if the husband might beat his wife, when it was necessary, a wife should not also, when it was necessary, beat her husband? He looked up in amused astonishment at this. "That would never do," said he. Did Mohammedanism forbid lies? The religion said nothing on this subject, he replied, but on second thought he modified this. Liars were regarded as bad men in his village, and certainly God did not approve of lies. How many wives had he? Only one, he answered. Did the women of Islam prefer polygamy, we asked him, or would they rather live in homes where there was only one wife? "Oh, if women were left to themselves," said he, "a man would have only

one wife, but then they have no choice in the matter." Why shouldn't they have a choice, we asked, and more than that, if it were right for a man to have a number of wives, why wasn't it right for a woman, if she desired, to have a number of husbands, and beat them too, if it were necessary? "No," said he, "that would be the end of society."

We were drawing near the village, and we made bold to ask him whether he loved his wife. "Khanim," said he to Miss Lamme, who was interpreting, "those who tell lies are not the friends of God." I asked him as we parted whether he had ever heard of a queen of Persia or a queen of Turkey, two of the most ruined and wretched nations on earth; whether he had ever reflected on the fact that the head of the greatest nation in the world, during the nineteenth century, for more than fifty years had been a woman, and that there was no hope for his country or for any other country that kept its women in the position which falls to them and to which they fall under Islam. And when they rise as they will rise, what will they do with Islam? Let those who have a word for this religion be adequately mindful of its most exposed and effective pathway of approach.

I have not spoken here of the approach to Islam through the hospitals and schools. I have meant only to call attention to the accessibility of Mohammedanism in Persia to immediate and direct approach. All the facts of the Christian Gospel and the full offer of Christ as the Saviour of men from sin unto life may be spoken all over Persia to-day with the full assurance of welcome and response.

In consequence the character of the mission work in Persia and of its problems has undergone a complete

change. All the older stations in Persia were begun with work for Assyrians, Armenians, or Jews. There were three reasons for this. In the first place these people were in want of missionary help. They were without evangelical teaching and in dire need of the enlightenment and the healing of educational and medical work. In the second place, this was the only way in which missionary work could be begun at all. The door of access to Mohammedans was not open, and the only ground on which the Christian mission could be admitted or be allowed to continue was its relationship to an existing Christian community. In the third place, it was believed that only by the purification of these oriental Churches could a reproach be removed which, so long as it continued, would effectually prevent the presentation of Christianity to the Mohammedan world. On the other hand, it was conceived that if these Churches were enlightened and warmed by evangelical truth they would become the great agencies for Moslem evangelization.

For many years, therefore, the work of the missions was primarily for these Christian communities and for the smaller Jewish communities, especially in Urumia, Teheran and Hamadan. The problems of the work took form accordingly. Now, however, the conditions are entirely changed. Massacre or persecution or other decimating influences have greatly reduced the size of these communities. Evangelical churches have been established among them and their influences extend among these communities far beyond the membership of the evangelical groups, and, most significant of all, the situation has entirely altered as regards the accessibility of the Mohammedans. It has become possible at last for the missions to undertake as their

major work, and in many stations as their entire work, the task of giving the Gospel to Mohammedans.

The foremost of the present problems, accordingly, is how best to present Christianity to Persia. This is in part a problem of attitude of mind, of point of contact, of mode of statement and approach, and in part a problem of mission method and policy and especially of resolute mission purpose.

The new situation has raised in a new way the old question of the relationship of the oriental Churches to the evangelization of the Mohammedans. It was long ago recognized that the unreformed Eastern Churches were a positive hindrance. No one ever disputed Sir William Muir's judgment in this matter. It was believed, however, that if these churches could be reformed and the true fires of Christianity kindled again upon their altars, they would prove to be the great missionary force for the evangelization of the Moslem people. Now, however, this view is called in question, and there are many who hold that not even through reformed Eastern Churches nor through evangelists drawn from the ranks of evangelical Eastern Christians is the Mohammedan world to be won, but rather by Christian converts from Islam going out to their fellow Mohammedans. It is said that the evangelical Churches have had their opportunity and have not used it, that the same reproach which attaches to the old Churches rests in some degree also upon the evangelicals, that recent years have seen, for many reasons, a great embitterment of the feelings of Christians towards Moslems and of Moslems towards Christians, that many of the Eastern Christians have no faith in the conversion of Mohammedans and no desire to forward it. I do not know that it is neces-

sary to go into these matters. Two facts stand out with sufficient clearness. One is that many of the most effective evangelists to Mohammedans at the present time are Eastern Christians and that we ought to look in Persia at least to the Assyrian Christians to continue to supply men for this work like those who have been supplied in the past. The second fact is that the great evangelists to the Mohammedans must be from among the Mohammedans themselves.

"Did you ever hear the fable of the axes and the trees?" a Mohammedan asked me one day as we were talking together. He was not a Christian, but he was a very intelligent man who had lost faith in Islam and who viewed with favour the propagation of Christianity in Persia. "You should learn the lesson of that fable. Once upon a time the trees heard that men were coming against them to cut them down, and in great fear they went to the oldest and the greatest of the trees and asked for counsel. 'Who are coming?' said the great tree. 'Men,' replied the trees of the forest. 'What shall we do?' The great tree was silent for a while and then asked again, 'Who did you say were coming?' 'Men,' replied the trees. 'They can do you no harm,' said the big tree. 'You need not fear.' 'But they have sharp irons in their hands,' the trees replied, 'and they intend to cut us with these.' The big tree thought again. 'What did you say they had?' at last it asked. 'Sharp irons.' 'They cannot hurt you,' said the big tree once again. 'You need not fear.' 'But,' the trees answered, 'they have parts of us in their irons, bits of our own selves.' 'Oh,' said the great tree, shaking also with fear, 'then our fate is sure. We shall all fall.'"

Missions to Mohammedans have always been agreed

in pursuing a very conservative policy in the term of probation of Mohammedan inquirers. Some of them have been kept waiting five or ten years. The old and tried Mohammedan converts are themselves among the most cautious in the admission of new inquirers. The general rule has been to require one or two years of instruction and testing, and undoubtedly the missions have been right in exercising the greatest care, but they recognize also the possibility of launching the new Moslem Church in an atmosphere of suspicion and retarded enthusiasm.

Missionaries are in as great a strait betwixt two courses in this matter as ever St. Paul was. On the one hand there is the danger of chilling the zeal and eagerness of new believers, of changing Christianity from an energy to an instruction, of banking the fires of a little church until they go out. On the other hand, is the peril of the hasty admission of instability and insincerity, of bringing ignorance and unworthiness into the Church when it is too weak either to carry or to throw off such a burden. No doubt missions are doing right to guard as carefully as they do the purity and integrity of these little churches, but one cannot at times repress the feeling that he would like to see the fires blaze up beyond our control, and a great movement begin, indigenous and free, even though it might be marked by crudity and might throw us and our just precautions aside in the rush of its eagerness and power.

A movement inside Persian Mohammedanism which has been brought to America and which embodies the Sufi disposition of the Persian mind is Babism. Mirza Ali Mohammed, the Bab, who founded the new religion, was born at Shiraz on October 9, 1820. He

took up the Shiah doctrine of the Imams or prophets of whom Ali was the first and Abul Kazim the last, Abul Kazim having mysteriously disappeared one thousand years ago, and hence called Al Mahdi or "the concealed." Mirza Ali claimed to be the Bab, a gate for men to the living but unseen Imam, Al Mahdi. His religion spread over Persia. It had at first its martyrs and its missionaries, and is still spreading but has lost its first vigour and has ceased to oppose orthodox Shiahism, its adherents believing that it is legitimate to conceal their opinions and dissemble. They now accordingly appear as regular Moslems outwardly, though privately abandoning the limitations and prescriptions of Islam. Their doctrine "enjoins few prayers, and those only on fixed occasions; enjoins hospitality and charity; prohibits polygamy, concubinage and divorce; discourages ascetism and mendicancy; and directs women to discard the veil and share as equals in the intercourse of social life" (Beach: "Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions," Vol. I, p. 398).

The Bab was succeeded after his death by Baha who carried his claims further, calling himself the incarnation of God the Father and most of the Persian Babis are Bahais or followers of Baha, to whom the Bab was only a sort of John the Baptist. There are different opinions in Persia as to whether this movement with many secret adherents is favourable to Christian missions or not. "This movement has not only weakened Mohammedism in Persia," says Bishop Stileman, "but the followers of the Bab and Baha are friendly to Christians, accept our Scriptures as the Word of God, admit the Divinity of Christ, long for religious liberty, and seem to be in many ways helping to pre-

pare the way of the Lord. But there is also much error in their system, and what is needed is the breath of the Spirit of God to convince them of sin and reveal to them our Lord Jesus Christ as the only Saviour and Redeemer. However, the people are no longer Mohammedans, and we now have in Persia, 'a house divided against itself,' which we know cannot long stand against the power of the Gospel" ("The Subjects of the Shah," p. 78f.).

On the other hand, the late Dr. Potter wrote of Kasvin: "At one time, there seemed a bright prospect of reaching the Babis, but the expectation was not realized. They seemed in some respects to present a more hopeful field for mission labour than the Moslems, because of their ready acceptance of the Scriptures and certain Christian doctrines rejected by Mohammedans. On the other hand, however, their fanciful interpretation of plain Scripture declarations renders it very difficult to make any impression on them by proof texts from the Bible whose authority they readily admit. They reply, 'Yes, but we must break open the word and extract its meaning.' Their hospitality, zeal and earnestness in the propagation of their belief are worthy of praise and emulation; but their easy dissimulation of their faith, even to openly cursing Babis, and the unreliability of their promises, are discouraging."

Still Babism has been preparing the way. And there is yet more evidence of the real opportunity in this great section of Islam. An experienced woman missionary in Persia writes of these new opportunities and of the change which has taken place in the matter of education for women and adds:

"Another sign of awakening has been the publication of four papers for women,—the first in Isfahan, three years ago, the second in Teheran, the third by the alumnæ of our girls' school in Teheran, the fourth appearing in Meshed and then moving to Teheran. The Isfahan paper was suppressed because the bright woman who published it could not keep her pen out of politics. The Meshed paper was sensationally suppressed because it spoke too frankly on the subject of freedom for women and aroused the opposition of the mollahs. The second on the list moved to Tabriz and probably stopped for lack of funds, so that the magazine our alumnæ are publishing is the only surviving member of the quartette.

"A third sign of the times could be discerned in the anjomans or societies, several of which existed in Teheran last year and there were said to be some in other cities. These societies were short-lived, as a change in the Government forbade all kinds of meetings for several months. The purpose of these societies was to work for the freedom of women especially for their unveiling. The society I knew most about had about 50 members, men and women together with open faces, the only condition being that every man who attended should be accompanied by wife or sister as his chaperon! This year a group of young men, graduates of our boys' school, have formed a similar society among themselves to work for the freedom of women.

"The unveiling of Mohammedan women in Constantinople is bound to have a great effect on the Mohammedan women of Persia. With the unveiling of the Persian women there will come tremendous changes in the whole state of society and a demand for the kind of education which will fit women to fill many positions which the veil now prevents and forbids women to occupy."

The work of every mission station in Persia is a witness to the new freedom which has come. The

very existence of the Meshed station would not have been possible twenty-five years ago. At least one of those who undertook missionary work there in the early days had to be sheltered from harm in the British consulate. No one would have dared then to rent property for missionary use. To-day leading ecclesiastics connected with the Shrine itself are ready to facilitate the purchase of property for the mission. Some thirty years ago when it was reported to the Shah that Moslems were attending the mission services in Teheran, Nasr-i-din replied, "I cannot prevent their hearing, but if they apostatize let them beware." When the Teheran hospital was built, the Shah conditioned his permission for its building, declaring, "all the workmen and servants must be Mohammedans. A Mohammedan chaplain must be supported from mission funds, and the call to prayer must be regularly sounded in accordance with the customs of Islam." It is needless to say that nothing of the sort was ever done, but the significant thing is that the idea of such conditions as these would hardly enter any one's mind to-day. And yet they may return. For the present, however, the door is open. A missionary wrote recently from Teheran:

"On this same Sunday one of the church evangelists gave an astonishing report of a series of meetings he had been holding in a school for training mollahs, discussing right on the enemy's ground the mooted points of our faith. When it came to the point of comparing the personalities of Christ and Mohammed they refused and the discussion stopped. I know of no great results from this; its significance lies in the fact that it could be possible to present the Christian religion to the leaders of the Moslem faith in one of their strongholds. Dozens

of times I've heard Persia referred to as the 'open door' into the strong citadel of Mohammedanism; but never did I realize the poignant truth of that expression as on that morning; and never was I so exalted in thanksgiving for the wonderful privilege of being in the work right here where I am!"

The change that has taken place in Tabriz is perhaps even more notable. In 1874, the Armenian priests stirred up the Moslem mujtahids, or ecclesiastics, and a number of Moslems attending the services on Sunday were seized and beaten, one of them to death. In consequence, more Moslems than ever came to hear the missionaries, and to learn what it was that so offended the priests. In 1885, again fanaticism broke out, and the city was in an uproar against a Moslem, Mirza Ali, who proclaimed belief in Christianity, and who had to flee from the country. In 1892 the Government, without any notification, locked up the doors of the church and school, and put red sealing-wax over the keyholes. When at last an explanation could be obtained, the reasons assigned for sealing up the buildings were, "lack of proper permission to build the church, having the Ten Commandments written in the interior of the church in a Mohammedan language and in the sacred blue colour, having a water tank under the church in which to baptize converts, having a tower in which we intended to put a bell, baptizing Mussulmans, of whom Mirza Ibrahim was now in prison, receiving Mussulman boys into our school and women to the church, having Dr. Bradford's dispensary near the church." After explanations and a long delay, the seals were removed, the Government issuing the following order to the missionaries: "That we must not

receive Mussulman women and children to our schools or church, that we must not take photographs of Mussulman women, that we must not conduct ourselves contrary to custom."

Over all the work for Mohammedans at that time hung the black shadow of remembrance of the fate of Mirza Ibrahim. He was a Mohammedan of Khoi who found peace in Christ for his troubled heart, and was publicly baptized in 1890. The mollahs reasoned with him, and tried to bribe him. His wife and children left him, and took all his property according to Moslem law. While he was going about the village preaching, he was arrested and taken before the governor in Urumia. When he spoke for Christ, saying, " He is my Saviour," they cried, " Beat him." He was beaten and reviled, but he only replied, as his face shone, " So was my Saviour beaten." After a short imprisonment he was removed to Tabriz. As he was led away from the prison, he solemnly called his fellow-prisoners to witness that he was free from their blood if they should reject the way of life, and " they all rose with heavy chains on their necks and bade him go in peace, while they prayed that his God and the Saviour whom he trusted would protect him." One of the Mohammedan officers who had watched him said to the Mohammedan crowd in the yard: " This is a wonderful man. He is as brave as a lion. A mollah has just been trying to convince him of his error, but he replies to everything, and the mollah has gone away with his head hanging down. He says that Mohammed is not a prophet, and that unless they can prove that he is, from the Holy Books, he will not give up his faith in Christ, even if they cut off his head." His last request as he set out for the capital of the province

was: "Pray for me that I may be a witness for Christ before the great of my people. I have no fear though I know that I shall die. Good-bye."

Some of the officials in Tabriz and Urumia seemed to be in real sympathy with the prisoner, but he was cast into the dark dungeon at Tabriz, chained to vile criminals, beaten, stunned and deprived of his clothes and bedding. One night when he witnessed for Christ to his fellow-prisoners, they fell upon him, kicked him, and took turns in choking him. His throat swelled so that he could scarcely swallow or speak, and on Sunday, May 14, 1893, he died from his injuries. When the Crown Prince was informed of his death, he asked, "How did he die?" And the jailor answered, "He died like a Christian."

"He through fiery trials trod,
  And from great affliction came;
Now before the throne of God,
  Sealed with His almighty name,
Clad in raiment pure and white,
  Victor palms within his hands,
Through his dear Redeemer's might
  More than conqueror he stands."

He was buried by night in the grave of a rich Moslem, whose body had been removed. In 1896 I went to see the dungeon in which he had been imprisoned and where he died, but his grave, it was said, was secret, and I could not be taken to it lest the betrayal of the place might lead to some fanatical riot. When I visited Tabriz again in 1922 the dungeon was no longer to be seen. Only the site of it remained, but there was now no concealment of the grave, and the

Mohammedan who had buried Mirza Ibrahim in it, now a Christian, offered to take me to the spot. We attended large gatherings of Moslem converts and inquirers who came and went without hindrance and fear. We visited the tea-houses in the central bazaars where the Scriptures were sold and the Gospel was preached not only without opposition but so long as the work was tactfully done with the thorough goodwill of the people. A policeman came into one of the tea-houses while we were there, and with a smile of friendly greeting, bought his bread and sat down while Mr. Wilson and Rabbi Ephraim, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, sold Scriptures and read the story of our Lord's temptation and talked about the Saviour and offered prayer. Not long ago one of the Moslem converts was called up by the police. "There is nothing secret," he replied. "Come and hear what is said and see what is done."

In what was formerly an inaccessible Mohammedan quarter of the city there is now a flourishing school for girls from Moslem homes. We were taken to visit it, and the visit of four men to a Mohammedan girls' school instantly aroused questioning. A deputation of ecclesiastics called at once to order the suppression of the school, but when it was known that we had requested the girls according to their own custom to draw their chudders over their faces before we came in, a favourable murmur went about the city, and the school continued entirely undisturbed. There are eight requests for similar schools which the mission could establish if it were able to do so in other districts of Tabriz. The doors are still wider open, if that be possible, in the villages.

A new freedom of speech has come in Persia, at

least as regards religion. In politics the censorship is still rigid enough. When we were in Tabriz, every newspaper had been suppressed. They will emerge again, however, and no doubt be many more times suppressed before the day of complete liberty of political discussion comes. So far as religion is concerned no one who will behave prudently and temperately need fear. One hears the frankest talk about Islam from all classes of the people, high and low. One of the most influential publications is the *Kaveh*, a monthly magazine published by young Persians living in Berlin but widely circulated in Persia. Recently it has printed a series of articles entitled "Famous Men of the East and West." The number of October 3, 1921, contained the life of Martin Luther. Mr. Donaldson showed us the article in Meshed and summarized its translation for us. "It starts out by saying that it is generally recognized by European thinkers that if Martin Luther had not broken the power and bigotry of the Catholic priesthood, Europe would not by any means have reached the modern degree of civilization and enlightenment. He showed that there must be freedom of thought in religion and that religion in itself is not contrary to reason. His work was in the beginning of the reign of reason, when science and philosophy were taking new life, and with the new freedom of thought, the Christian religion made rapid progress. Accordingly the science, civilization, and religion of Christendom owe an everlasting debt of gratitude to Martin Luther.

"The article goes on to point out that in Mohammedan countries to-day there are reforms needed in many lines, among which the following are mentioned:

1. Considering others than Moslems unclean.
2. The imprisonment of women by the purdah system.
3. The legalizing of polygamy.
4. The ease of divorce.
5. Deeming those of religions other than "ahl-i-kitab" infidels and worthy of death.
6. The restriction of religious teaching to the Arabic language.

"The story of the life of Martin Luther is then narrated, and throughout there is emphasis on the necessity for freedom of thought in order that civilization may advance and intellectual progress be made possible."

Whether or not Islam is breaking up in Persia or elsewhere I do not know. A religion which has lasted for twelve hundred years and which has laid hold on personal and community and national life with a thousand pervasive invisible bonds is not likely to break up over night. One hears both from Mohammedans and others strong judgments as to the decay and disintegration of Mohammedanism, but then one hears the same kind of talk in the West with regard to the decay and disintegration of Christianity. We asked constantly in Persia for opinions as to the real facts. Were the pilgrimages diminishing? Were the revenues of the shrines and the mosques decreasing? Did the people still pray in their homes or in their public places of prayer? How were the fasts observed? What was the influence of the mollahs and the mujtahids? On these and similar questions one could present a body of conflicting testimony, but I believe the sound conclusion is that Islam as a religious force is

weakening, but that as a political instrument to be utilized as an agency of nationalism it has stiffened greatly in Turkey and India. The stiffening is not so perceptible in Persia. Now and then there are evidences that the forms of Shiah Mohammedanism are being encouraged in the interest of political nationalism, but Persian character is so easy going and everything is so unorganized and careless in Persian life that any galvanization of Mohammedanism in a political interest is far more than offset by the disintegrating influences.

These disintegrating influences grow ever stronger and stronger and more outspoken. One of the papers recently repressed in Tabriz was entitled *Azad,* or *Freedom.* In its issue of January 1, 1922, appeared the following article:

"*A Medicine for Those Tied to Moslem Ecclesiastics.* Let all Persians, both religious and irreligious, read this:

"Oh Persians of the Shiah sect, either you believe or you do not believe. But those who do believe, let them give ear and hear what I am saying. How unworthy are those who confess that Islam is a religious system both spiritual and worldly, but who forget that a tree must be known by its fruits. While, as you say, this religion has the happiness of this world to offer as well as the coming world, yet in every point all Moslems over the world are low, poor, unclean, without civilization, foolish, ignorant, and in general they are two hundred years behind American and European Christians and even behind the Zoroastrians.

"If it were only in some places that we found Islam in this condition we might attribute the results to some other reason but where we find Islam everywhere in the same condition we can see no other reason but Islam it-

self. This appears true to every man who looks at the question, because Islam has lost the real Islam. The foundations of true Islam have been dropped and other superstitious things have been brought into their place.

"We Moslems must recognize that the very thing which has brought us to this point is that we have followed the faith of the ecclesiastics. Our learned and able men have understood that each age has its own ways and its own leaders and therefore every age must follow a new leader. And they think that their command is the command of God and His prophet. If the leader of a certain age says that paper money, for instance, is unclean, then no poor Moslem can touch paper money no matter how useful a thing it may be, and so of other things.

"Now let us see what great losses have been brought in our age by our following these ecclesiastics. Now I ask you advocates of Islam, can the judgment of one man be trusted to such an extent? Any one with a little wisdom will say, No. Even more than that, are our ecclesiastical leaders ready to give up all selfish motives? I am sorry to say, No! No! Now I pray all believers, let them bestir, arise and gird themselves, and find the rules of the genuine Islam which will be a great help for us in this world and the one to come.

"Now for Persians who have no religion. You will say that Islam is not true, but do we not need something to hold together and provide for the welfare and progress of the country? You will say that we have no money and there is no unity in our country, what shall we do? I say that we must come under the standard of Islam (but true Islam). Let us throw away this following of the mujtahids. I have heard that once upon a time a King of Persia was visiting at the court of King William of Germany, and after reviewing all the regiments of splendid troops he sat down to dinner and spoke to Kaiser William: 'What shall we do in order to make

Persia as successful as your country?' Kaiser William answered: 'You cannot feed one hundred thousand soldiers and you cannot maintain order in your cities as we do, and you cannot have manufacturing plants as we have, but you can do the following things that will be acceptable all over the world. First, you can refuse to tie yourselves as all the followers of one man and say that his command is the command of God and the prophet, and second you can treat your various tribes so that they will not be tools in the hands of your neighbour nations. If you do these things I assure you that your kingdom will be great.' Therefore arise and take your sword and dig up all those thorns which have grown up around Mohammed—may the blessings of God be upon him and his children—so that we may be blessed both in this world and the world to come. I shall be glad to receive any suggestions or any advice from any reader of this paper."

I met the editor of this paper and the writer of this editorial and had several very interesting conversations with him. He does not believe in Mohammedanism at all. Kasha Moorhatch asked him with regard to this editorial, "Do you really mean that there is a true Islam?" And he replied, "No, there is no true Islam. I have merely spoken as though there were to save my head. I realize that there is no good in Islam." And he told me quite frankly that there was no hope for Persia until the power of Islam was shattered. If I were free to do so, I could quote similar opinions from some of the most influential leaders of the Near East.

There are, of course, in Persia as in India earnest and convinced believers in Islam and one may meet many who take the view which Mr. Shabir Ahmed of

Deoband set forth at the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of Indian Mohammedans held in Moradabad, in January, 1925. Mr. Shabir Ahmed said "that God kept two registers, one of friends and the other of foes. In the former Moslems' and in the latter non-Moslems' names were entered. Christians flourished because God was giving a long rope to His enemies and Moslems were in their present state because God was rebuking them for their faults. But while there would, in course of time, be a complete downfall of Christians, Mohammedans would rise" (*The Allahabad Pioneer,* January 16, 1925).

Among the Mohammedan ecclesiastics themselves there is growing up in Persia an increasingly kindly and tolerant feeling towards Christian Missions. Mollahs who have acted as language teachers to the new missionaries or as teachers of the Persian language in the schools have been brought near to Christianity, and some of them have openly accepted it. We met mollahs in homes and in Christian services who were either openly or at heart Christians, and we had friendly talks with others who were ready to discuss temperately the claims of Christianity. During the Turkish occupation of Tabriz when Dr. Vanneman and Mr. Jessup who had remained in the station were imprisoned by the Turks, the two leading mollahs of the city were their strong defenders. One, the head of the largest Shiah sect, openly preached in the mosque on their behalf. He declared that he had known Dr. Vanneman and Mr. Jessup ever since they had come to Tabriz, and that he had never known anything but good of them, and that unless they were released he would take it upon himself to stir the city in their behalf. The other was the head of another

Shiah sect, and he went himself to the Turkish pasha to speak for the missionaries. It was afterwards learned that the mollahs and merchants of the city had prepared a paper to present in behalf of Dr. Vanneman and Mr. Jessup in case they were courtmartialed. In Hamadan, the leading mollah of the city bought for the station the land on which the hospital and its residences stand, and transferred it to Dr. Funk. At the time of the Turkish occupation there the mollahs declared to the Turks that Dr. Funk must not be sent away from the city. When Dr. Funk broke his leg and was confined to the house his room would often be full of his white turbaned mollah friends who had come to inquire after him.

An endless tale, not of kind words only but of kind deeds also, could be told, revealing the ever deepening good-will and enlarging friendships which are binding together the missionaries of the Christian Gospel and these Moslem people of Persia who so greatly need and so truly deserve our love and help. It was a satisfaction to meet in Tabriz in 1922 especially two Moslems from Urumia. One was the man who helped Judith David during the long weeks when almost single-handed she kept alive a terror-stricken company of destitute Assyrians in Urumia and could not have done so but for the loyal help of this humane man who is still doing all that he can to protect the property of the Mission in Urumia and to assure its return. He had just come to Tabriz from Urumia and drew a vivid picture of its ruin and its despair. He was returning to do what he could and when I thanked him he replied that he was glad to serve us and that what he was doing was not for the sake of protecting properties only but that the work of God in which he be-

lieved might go on. The other man was the one Moslem in Urumia who after the last dreadful massacre came to Dr. Packard and took him by the hand to escort him safely out of the carnage into the yard of the governor.

No one has had a better opportunity to observe the changes that have been taking place in Persia in the past twenty-five years than Kasha Moorhatch, who after his education in the mission schools in Urumia, took his theological course in McCormick Seminary, and has for twenty-five years been preaching first to the Assyrians and of late years to the Mohammedans with a wisdom, faithfulness and power which mark him out as one of the most useful evangelists of our day in the missionary approach to Islam. I asked him in Tabriz whether he would be good enough to jot down some of the changes which he had seen and the reasons for them. This he was good enough to do as follows:

"For thirteen hundred years Islam has been the seeming insurmountable obstacle in the way of Christianity and the greatest enemy to be conquered, for the reason that Islam has the appearance of the knowledge of God without the power and Spirit thereof. From my experience of nearly half a century as a preacher and from personal knowledge of this religion and nation, I can see that the walls of Islam are tottering to their fall. The great changes could be arranged under three heads: Personal, Social and Religious.

"(1) Personal changes or changes in relation to the home and personal life in Islam. Not many years ago the home life and the way of living and dressing among Europeans was not only despised by Islam but looked upon as 'murdar' (religiously unclean). A real Moslem was forbidden to dress and eat and live like a non-

Moslem. I have heard Islam's 'ulema' (doctors of the religious law) speak of Christian dresses as 'murdar,' and so also Christian food; but now you will see the streets full of Moslems dressed like Europeans with necktie, collar, etc., and among the higher classes of people the women dressed entirely like Western ladies, although they do not go out of doors without being veiled. The use of forks and knives, tables and chairs, and ornaments in the house like Europeans and the idea of educating their women are growing.

"In recent days there was a paper being published in Tabriz named *Azad* (Free). In one of its numbers, the editor, although speaking with 'taggiyah' stresses very freely and boldly the cause of the decline of Islam. 'It is Islam itself.' The present writer started some meetings in Teheran, now continued in Tabriz, in which the men and women sit, talk and eat together without the latter being covered or veiled. Although these meetings are secret, they are continuing.

"(2) Social Changes, *i. e.*, in their relation to non-Moslems. I remember well when it was impossible for a Christian to use the sacred greeting 'salam alakum' (Peace be to you) to a Moslem. If by mistake a Moslem should give the same salam to a Christian, the Christian had to suffer for it. But to-day the use of this salam is common between Moslem and Christian. Twenty years ago it was impossible for a Moslem to shake hands with a Christian, but now, not only do they shake hands, but like Orientals, they quite often kiss each other. Then it was a death penalty for a Christian to speak before Moslem fanatics about the divinity of Christ, but now if a Christian is well informed in language and intelligent in speech, he can say openly that Christ is God-Man, the only Mediator, outside of Whom all else are sinners incapable of mediatorship. Then it was impossible to sit with Moslems at one table, but to-day among the higher classes it is very common and free. Twenty years ago

it was dangerous to preach in one of the Moslem languages in the presence of Moslems, but to-day any intelligent man who knows the language can speak about the Trinity, the Atonement, the New Birth, and can openly condemn Islam as a religion of pure formalism.

"(3) Religious Changes. To any one who is acquainted with the foundation of Islam, it is clear that Islam is opposed to progress, civilization, equality and freedom and will, therefore, never accept the advances made by the intellect and civilization. Thus said to me a man by birth a Moslem, when I asked him if he were a Mussulman: 'Adami ki yek misgal agl darad, Mussulman bashad?' or 'Can a man who has an ounce of sense be a Moslem?' In Caucasia the Moslems have translated the Koran into the common speech although this is contrary to their faith. There is a great awakening going on showing dissatisfaction with Islam. Many are looking back towards Zoroastrianism; many have gone astray to Bahaism; hundreds and thousands have gone towards rationalism; many are awakening to see the folly of the Muharrem and of pilgrimages to sacred shrines. There is talk among the intelligent party of starting a Protestant movement in Islam which looks towards a revision of Islam in order to reach the 'real Islam.' My hope is that they will continue in their search, for at bottom they will reach nothing. Oh, how many of their learned Ulema have spoken to me with contempt of the book 'Zad-al-Ma'ad' (Provision for Eternity)!

"I am sure that Islam has reached the days when it should fall. We need workers—intelligent, acquainted with Islam, and self-sacrificial in spirit.

"The causes of these changes may be noted as follows:

"(1) Intermingling with Foreign Nations. In the last few years many Persians have gone west for merchandising, education and travel, and many Western people have come to Persia for different purposes. Many native Christians who have been educated abroad

or educated in mission schools have been having dealings with the Moslems. In seeing these things any intelligent Moslem must discover that there must be something behind Christianity that cannot be found in Islam.

"(2) The wide work of Christian missions. From these missions many influences have scattered through preaching, education, medicine and social life. When an intelligent nation like Persia sees such things they cannot help saying there must be some mystery in Christianity undiscoverable in Islam.

"(3) The distribution of so many thousands of the Bible and religious tracts which give to mankind the highest ideal of life, not to be found in Islam.

"(4) The work of travelling evangelists, who have preached the Gospel to thousands and have showed by their lives the power that lies in Christianity and not in Islam.

"(5) The relief work. Although some foolish Moslems have a superstitious idea that Mohammed compelled the Christians to help the Moslem, the best and intelligent part of them have come to this thought: 'Really there must be something secret in Christianity not to be found in Islam.'

"(6) The spirit of the Persian Constitution (mashruta). This spirit is the greatest blow against the tottering walls of Islam. The Constitution means freedom, equality, brotherhood which smite the foundations of this false religion. I say freely that Islam and the spirit of constitutional government are incompatible forever.

"(7) The increase of education in Islam itself. Either this was borrowed from the West or from the American Mission Schools, with the result that a great many schools have been started for boys and girls on modern principles. I am sure that such schools, if they do not make Christians, will certainly make the children non-Moslems.

"*Advices for the Future Work.*—The plan is only one,

started by Christ and followed by Paul and his companions, viz., to preach Christ and Him crucified. The object is one: to build up men in the stature of Christ. Suggestions: (1) Let all the mission institutions, such as schools, orphanages, hospitals, relief work, etc., find their proper place. Let it be known that these are not worldly institutions but Christian. The object of missionary work is not education of the world but to lead the world to Christ.

"(2) It seems to me that the time has arrived when instead of dissipating our efforts in unrelated tours in which the one touring spends only a few days in a place and passes on to forget it for years to come, we should concentrate our efforts and systematize them by placing a missionary and a native helper in centers which can be used as a base of operations for the methodical touring of a whole district.

"(3) A special effort for the distribution of the Bible and tracts.

"(4) To use as workers those who are orthodox in faith, zealous in the work, loving in their social life, skilled in preaching, acquainted with Islam, filled with the Spirit and self-sacrificing.

"(5) Great caution should be used in building the foundations of the Islam 'Church,' because this nation believes and works by 'taggiyah' (which permits freedom to lie if to gain a personal end favourable to one's self) under which wolves may creep in under the guise of sheep. Therefore there must be care and patience and examination into the real character and motive of those accepted into the church as proselytes from Islam lest later we be shamed before God and men by too hasty admission of unworthy members. I cannot stress this point too strongly. Be sure that undue haste will bring us into unpardonable mistake."

Kasha Moorhatch's analysis of the causes was con-

firmed by many others. There has been a great seepage of Christian conceptions into Persia. The mollahs have been judged by new canons of character, and Western conceptions of the separation of the Church and State have cut at the very foundation of the Mohammedan principle of their identification. As I sat in the Persian parliament one evening and saw the score of mollahs there, constituting a small minority, and listened to one of their number debating ineffectually before a body which was regarding him not as a mollah but as a man, I realized afresh over how wide a space the thought and life of Persia had passed since the young sayids folded up their privilege in their brown abbas in the tea-houses on the Kum road twenty-five years ago. There is opposition and difficulty enough remaining, moral inertia, the terrible effects of the moral education and the social institutions of Islam, ignorance and fanaticism and sin. There is hostility as well as hospitality. But, as an able Armenian woman said to us in Teheran, "The ground has been broken up and softened by the rain and is open for the seed. The old days of the hard closed soil are passed." Once again, let the sower go forth and sow.

LECTURE VI

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AMERICA

WE have reviewed some of the changes in Asia during recent years in their relation to the work of foreign missions. Let us consider also the present situation in South America. I shall refer elsewhere to the extent of the unoccupied mission field in South America as one of many answers to be found in the world to the current question whether the foreign mission enterprise has not now reached its end. We are in a particularly favourable position to-day for such a survey of South American conditions. The recent Congress on Christian Work in South America which was held in Montevideo, Uruguay, March 29 to April 8, had before it a series of twelve reports, each of them composed of material contributed by groups in the various South American countries, covering the whole field of social and religious conditions. One could not find elsewhere such a body of trustworthy observations and judgments from competent students, many of them Latin Americans and all of them residents in the countries of which they wrote. These reports sought to indicate the progress which has been made in thought and life and religion in South America since the Congress on Christian Work in Latin America which met in Panama in February, 1916. I have read and reread the reports made to both these gatherings and listened to their full discussion when they were presented, and

desire here to summarize the information which the Montevideo reports contain and which gives us a unique and comprehensive insight into the mind of a continent. Having shared in preparing these reports I shall not hesitate to borrow their very words and to weave them together in a broad coördinated view.

" In almost all South American countries since 1916 have occurred events and developments tending to enhance the significance and to accentuate the need of evangelical ideals. There have been signal suggestions, if not of the direct impact of these ideals, at least of an environment increasingly hospitable to their application. There have been revivals of religious interest, intellectual and educational awakenings, reassertions of independence and individuality in the pursuit of truth, a heightened emphasis on moral values, crusades against vice, ignorance and injustice, upsurgings of altruistic sentiment organized into reforming philanthropies, economic readjustments and commercial expansion conceived in terms of common welfare, manifestations of national and international good-will touching a new world order. A new wave of constructive social idealism, sane, modernistic, spiritual and resolute in its trend, has moved upon the minds of alert leaders in both the Andean and the Atlantic Republics. It has been humanitarian and practical rather than political and dogmatic—unlike the doctrinaire dreamings, the aristocratic idealogies, the ecclesiastical manifestoes which often, in the past, have soared above the people and ignored the deeper problems of progressive democracies.

" So fervent, in some of the countries, have been the new aspirations, so radical the insurgencies against obscurantism and tradition, so clear the demand for a

renovated social order, that observant students mark a fresh, creative outburst of the Latin American spirit. Some writers hail the new day as a renaissance" (Report, Commission I, "Unoccupied Fields," p. 9). . . . "So distinct has been the outburst of moral energy in the direction of human betterment since 1916, that it seems a cumulative response to the voice of South American prophets whose searching expositions, alarms and exhortations, had been uttered before the Panama Congress. About 1896 Cesar Zumeta had written 'The Sick Continent.' Almost on the eve of the Panama Congress, F. Garcia Calderon had exposed 'the poverty of the inner life,' 'the innate indiscipline of the masses,' 'the weakness of the average citizen,' the lack of 'robust creative convictions,' 'the decadence of moral culture,' and 'the need of renaissance to escape retrogression to barbarism.' Ricardo Rojas had lamented 'the dissolution of the old moral nuclei' and 'the depreciation of ideals.' Alfredo Colmo had thrown the light of sociological science on the gravity of Latin America's problems, opening the gulf between her intellectual brilliancy and her indigence. The great tractates of writers like Blanco-Fombona of Venezuela, Gonzales Prada of Peru, Manual Bomfin of Brazil, José Enrique Rodó of Uruguay, and many others, were not without their effect in arousing consciences and fomenting reforms" (*Ibid.*, p. 11f.).

The pessimistic tone, characteristic of South American thought in politics since Bolivar's description of all effort as the futile ploughing of the sea, has not disappeared, but a new spirit of courage and hope is abroad and the republics have been strengthened and uplifted by an increased and enriched national con-

sciousness. South American writers have been passing their national and racial characteristics under a new and relentless criticism to discuss their elements of weakness and to determine what new qualities must be sought and where obtained. "Modern Spanish and South American writers are much more introspective than are Anglo-Saxons. There exists a great wealth of literature devoted to self-analysis. This is a phenomenon to which British and Americans are not so accustomed, for, hitherto, neither of the two great branches of the English-speaking family has been particularly interested in analyzing its personal traits" (Report, Commission XI, "Special Religious Problems in South America," p. 6). Writers like Oliveira Martins, the Portuguese historian, Miguel de Unamuno, the Spanish litterateur, and Carlos Octavio Bunge, the Argentine sociologist, draw attention to the fundamental trait of "la arroganca española," Spanish arrogance or haughtiness, characterized by an extreme individualism, illustrated in the military and colonial history of Spain, in the type of Spanish mysticism, in the fanaticism of Spanish religion, in the character of Spanish secular literature, in the subordination of principles to personalities. These writers paint also the South American tendency, due both to the Spanish and to the Indian inheritance, to fatalism or nonchalance, and the cultural humanism of South American education. "If this new movement continues and gathers strength we may witness in the future, under the impulse of a new ideal, the modification of the traditional arrogance and individualism of the race." And also of its pessimism. In this matter since the end of the war, a remarkable change has taken place.

"South American thinkers and scientists have discovered a new confidence in their own powers. Europe has lost a great deal of its traditional prestige and South American intellectuals have taken themselves out of their classic sense of inferiority, and have the feeling that in some spheres of life and thought, they are even called upon to give the world a lead. This is particularly the case in the realm of international politics. The new spirit is an echo of Bolivar's famous saying: 'If Nature opposes we will fight Nature and will conquer her.' There is a new sense of the glorious destiny that awaits America. Narrow nationalism gives place to internationalism; Pan-Americanism to Pan-Iberianism. To the dictum of North American politicians 'America for the Americans,' South America replies 'America for Humanity.'" . . .

"Closely connected with the foregoing is the appearance of a *new intellectualism* which revolts against the traditional Hellenism of intellectual life on this continent. The champions of this new mental attitude proclaim that intellectuals should not be simple spectators of life's drama, but actors in it. They should live their lives not among the monuments which commemorate the past, but amid the thoughts and events which will determine the future. They should be prophets of glories to come and not priests of glories spent. 'The philosophers,' as Plato puts it, 'must become kings;' they must apply their theorizing to the solution of living problems.

"One of the leaders of the new crusade is José Ingenieros, whose monthly newspaper *Renovacion* may be regarded as the chief articulate expression of this new attitude towards life. Another leader, and

perhaps the most dynamic of all, is José Vasconcelos, later Minister of Public Instruction in Mexico. Although a Mexican, Vasconcelos exercises enormous influence on the new generation in South America. The students of Colombia and Peru have proclaimed him 'Master of Youth.' The discourses of Vasconcelos are the Magna Charta of a new idealism for men of thought and letters. Inspired by the principles of Jesus and using language of a strong Biblical flavour, this Latin American prophet opens new vistas of worthy endeavour before the educated youth of the continent" (*Ibid.*, pp. 9, 11).

In the last twenty years, even in the ten years since the Panama Congress there has been a great advance in the provision of agencies for the education of these youths of South America. "The educational programs of the South American States are active and professedly modern. Along some professional lines they are fully abreast of the best modern procedure. Along all lines they are rapidly developing schemes of publicly controlled education, which, shaped to fit the special needs of Latin American peoples, will embody the best ideals of the world's educators.

"The Roman Church in South America is indefatigable in promoting the education in which it believes. Its plans, however, being primarily those of the teaching orders, chiefly emphasize a religious life which blindly serves the Church and a knowledge of much which is out of date. The educational program of the Roman Church at best contributes little to the development of a new, virile body politic characterized by true democracy, by a public conscience underlain by the sanctions of religion and by a frank recognition

of the general welfare" (Report, Commission III, "Education," p. 5).

"The South American states differ widely in their educational efficiency judged by modern standards. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay far excel the other republics in resources and hence in development. The conditions with which the states deal are not the same, yet there is a general similarity in organization, method and viewpoint which lends itself to summary. In each republic the state is in centralized control of public education in all its branches. The public at large has no voice in educational matters, except as it may elect a congressman pledged to bring about certain reforms. The formation of school programs, the choice of school boards and the appointment of teachers is the duty of the government. . . .

"The great problem of each South American state to-day under the rapid changes in the conditions of its political, social and industrial life is to bridge the gulf which yawns between the hereditary ruling class which is highly educated, very able, yet relatively small in numbers, and the relatively ignorant middle class also limited in numbers, together with the densely ignorant masses. The education of the peasantry has hardly been attempted; that of the middle class is fairly under way. Yet even to-day the educational conditions in the country districts and in the small towns in contrast with those in the large cities and, especially, in the national capitals are highly deplorable. Every republic is awake to the necessity of popular education; several are doing their utmost to provide it. Yet illiteracy is greatly prevalent" (*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7).

The most adequate, or probably it would be better to say the least inadequate educational provision is

made in Argentina and Chile. They ought to lead, in view of the vastly greater revenues and resources per capita of these countries.

"Argentina has a population of approximately 9,000,000, predominantly of European stock, largely Latin in source. It is a country capable of vast development and may be regarded even yet as in its beginnings. Its task of developing a fine federal republic out of provinces still insistent upon their own rights and privileges and out of peoples suspicious by heredity of governmental control, is one to be solved through education. Its educational system is well organized, notably in the cities and towns. In the year 1920 the school population covering the ages from six to fourteen was 1,766,053, with an attendance enrollment of 1,076,045, yet thirty-five per cent. of the population over seven years of age is said by Luckey to be illiterate. There were 9,268 primary schools, of which 7,801 were public and 1,467 private. There were forty-two national colegios, thirty-three private colegios, eighty-two normal schools, and thirty-seven special schools (commercial, industrial, etc.). Young women for purposes of secondary education seem to choose the normal schools. All schools, public or private, are more efficient in the larger cities and more densely populated districts. . . . During the last eight years there has been a notable development of public sentiment in Argentina in favour of education, filling the schools to overflowing" (*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9).

"In Chile the population in 1922 was estimated at 3,819,096. Chile's educational system was launched in 1833. Notwithstanding the rapid growth indicated below, it is estimated that even to-day sixty per cent. of Chile's population, nearly half of which is urban,

is illiterate, and that among children between six and fourteen years of age forty per cent. are not in school and sixty-three per cent. are unable to read and write. It is also stated that only forty-two per cent. of the men and thirty-seven per cent. of the women in Chile can read and write. No subject before the public mind receives more discussion than education. The school is regarded as the chief social agency which must provide the remedy for the country's ills" (*Ibid.*, p. 16).

"One noteworthy advance has been the greatly increased number of primary schools which provide some sort of manual training for boys and domestic science courses for girls. In 1923 there were 1,528 such schools" (*Ibid.*, p. 18).

At the other extreme of educational development we find countries like Colombia and Bolivia. "Colombia has a population estimated in 1918 at 5,855,077. It has an extensive official program of education; in few countries are the results so meager and disappointing. The present school system was organized over half a century ago. According to the Constitution, primary instruction was free for children between the ages of seven and fifteen years, but not compulsory. The length of the course in both rural and urban schools is three years; but very few children continue in school that long, and more than half the children in the Republic do not attend school at all. Few, if any, of the graduates of the primary schools enter the secondary schools for further education. The majority of the school buildings are rented and are poorly adapted for educational needs.

"The Concordat, adopted in 1888 and still in full vigour, provides that in the universities, colleges and

schools, the organization shall be effected and the teaching given 'in conformity with the dogmas and morale of the Catholic religion.' The right of inspection of all instruction is reserved to the Church. Textbooks for the teaching of morals and religion are designated by the authorities of the Church, who, however, invade other departments and criticize the texts for other branches of learning, especially those used in history and geography. It is not strange that in view of such facts as these public instruction has made but slight progress.

"Statistics regarding illiteracy are not very accurate. In some departments of Colombia the percentage may fall as low as seventy-five per cent.; in other sections it must reach nearly one hundred per cent. The estimate most often given is ninety-two per cent. for the whole country, but even of the remaining literates a goodly number escape the classification as illiterates through being barely able to read and sign their names. Probably not over five per cent. of the people have the equivalent of a grammar school course of training. The really educated form a small select group which controls the destinies of the country."

The greatest educational problem is, of course, Brazil. One-half the population of South America is scattered over more than half its area in Brazil. From its 30,000,000 people the school population in 1922 "was 3,571,877. School attendance was 678,684, leaving seventy-eight per cent. of the school population unprovided for. In 1921 there were in all Brazil 17,295 elementary schools, mainly of the one-room type, of which 11,342 were state schools, 2,532 municipal schools and 3,421 private schools. There were 327 normal schools, twenty-five degree-training col-

leges and one federal university at Rio de Janeiro (1920). Primary education has been regarded as a responsibility of each Brazilian state. There is a growing tendency to place it under federal control. The percentage of illiteracy is still very high, averaging 74.6 per cent. As in other parts of the continent, the few rather than the many have the benefit of education" (*Ibid.*, p. 14).

The Roman Catholic Church has done its utmost to control education in South America but has never used its power to provide or promote adequate facilities for the education of the mass of the people. Its education like that of the State has been aristocratic. "The Roman Church was alive, from the very beginning of Spanish invasion, to the needs of an educated clergy and of a loyal group of educated laity. It had established a dozen universities in Latin America by 1787. Most of these were secularized a century ago and brought under government control; but the Roman Church has founded other institutions of higher learning and many schools of secondary grade in order to continue its program of ecclesiastically controlled education. Through these schools it still furnishes an important part of the education of the children of the higher social classes, and of its own leaders" (*Ibid.*, p. 8). In most countries it ignores primary education. When the spur of state education or Protestant influence is present, however, then the Roman Catholic Church awakes as it does in the United States. In Argentina, "the Church seems to support a very large number of primary parochial schools. 'It would be a conservative estimate that half of the private schools in the Argentine are Catholic'" (*Ibid.*, p. 11). This does not mean,

however, any more than that the Church controls about five per cent. of the total school enrollment.

In some South American countries the Church dominates the school system of the State. It is an undeniable fact that to the extent that this is true, education is backward and unsatisfactory, as in Colombia. The Church is doing to-day far more than ever before to develop its own higher institutions independent of the State though seeking State recognition and subsidy.

A new movement in educational reforms in South America has sprung from the students themselves. It has been felt as yet chiefly in Chile and Argentina and Peru. In 1923, a student strike in Chile demanded a number of reforms such as the following: "Eliminate the chair of theology; combine classes in various schools of the university that now duplicate; encourage philosophical research; offer elective courses to be chosen by the student; replace some of the present lecture courses with research; remove the naming of the faculty from the power of the president of the Republic; raise the entrance requirements so as to reduce the number of students; introduce a practical study of activities of national interest, such as industries, commerce, ports, railroads, public health, education, etc.; open university classes to the attendance of the public, where such attendance does not interfere with the class work; introduce night classes; divide the national military budget between national defense and education by reducing the standing army; provide for national educational councils as follows: primary, secondary, university and technical; provide for eight years of primary and seven years of secondary work. Such movements are characteristic, to a greater or less degree,

of the students of Argentina, Uruguay, Peru and other countries" (*Ibid.*, p. 17).

Some of the South American countries are seeking to deal with their educational needs by a compulsory school law but it is not enforced in any country and in Argentina where the provision is greatest, the students in school in many cities can take only a half day in order that room may be made for others. It is clear that it is indispensable to the progress of South America that adequate and practical education shall be made available for the masses of the people. Republics cannot endure, much less advance, except on a basis of popular intelligence. The enlightened governments in South America realize this and are forming their educational policies in accord with it.

Literature, like education, is coming to a larger place in South America. "A student of race psychology has said that the sixth sense of the Latin peoples is literature. Certainly it is true that in Latin America the printed page is regarded as having peculiar authority and is looked upon by many with something akin to reverence. While it is true that a large percentage of the people in these countries are unable to read and write, it is also true that those who do read have a more serious regard for literature than they do in many other countries that have a higher percentage of literacy. It is also true that serious-minded books have a larger appeal to Latin Americans than to those of many other countries. Fiction does not occupy nearly so large a place among Latin American readers as among people of the United States; on the other hand, philosophical and poetical works are much in demand" (Report, Commission IX, "Literature," p. 5).

The great Latin American daily newspapers like *La Nacion* and *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, *O Jornal do Commercio* of Rio, and *El Mercurio* of Santiago rank with the best newspapers of the world. There is also a growing periodical production but there is great complaint in South America of the dearth of books that feed moral strength and character. "It cannot be denied that there is a comparatively small amount of such literature, except where it is very closely bound up with the acceptance of the theology of some particular Church. Seldom indeed does one find in Spanish or Portuguese real attempts to face the moral questions, such as that made by the well-known professor of ethics in the University of Montevideo, Dr. Vaz Ferrera, in his book 'Moral Para Intelectuales.' Yet this book takes the position that neither Catholic nor Evangelical Christianity is an asset in the fight of the individual for a moral life" (*Ibid.*, p. 13).

Don Carlos Silva Cruz, the director of the National Library of Chile, asserts the desire of the South Americans for more intellectual intercourse: "The difficulties of communication between the different countries of America have been, during the whole of the nineteenth century, as Chinese walls, isolating each one from the others in everything related to spiritual life. Their fountains of inspiration were beyond the seas. Unfortunately, it is an undeniable fact that, in intellectual things, we American countries are even more distant, one from the other, than in all other classes of activity. This fact, which is known to all those in America who read, study or observe the life of the continent, is confirmed mathematically by statistical figures. . . . Of the foreign works read by the public of Santiago in their principal library, during

the year, forty-three per cent. were French, thirty-four per cent. Spanish and only five per cent. American" (*Ibid.*, p. 11).

There is a clear field here as in education for practical and welcome help from the Evangelical Churches, which they can only give as they combine their efforts and work coöperatively. No denominational institution can touch this need at all. What is wanted is books of general Christian teaching as setting forth the Christian view of life and of ethical principles. It is estimated that fully sixty per cent. of such literature in Spanish has been provided within the last ten years and the agency which has been most active in the matter has been the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America which represents the Mission Boards which are working in aid of the Latin American peoples.

We are dealing here with the social and spiritual movements in South America, but the economic conditions are inseparably associated with these, and something should be said regarding these financial relations of the United States and South America. Mr. Hughes, while still Secretary of State, referred to the extent and importance of these relations in a radio speech delivered from Washington on January 20th:

"Our economic relations are of constantly increasing importance. I am advised that, taking the South American countries and leaving out our enormous trade with Cuba and Mexico, and after making deductions corresponding to the change in the general level of prices, the increase in our exports to South America in 1923 over 1913 was 35 per cent. and in our imports 41 per cent.

"The economic opportunities which lie at our door are almost boundless, and the advantages are mutual, but of

chief consequence is the realization that we are all co-workers, each struggling to attain the democratic ideal. Each has much to learn from the others, but all have a permanent interest in a friendly coöperation, the fundamental principle of which should be the international application of the Golden Rule.

"If anywhere in the world men can dwell together in peace and secure the benefits of peace it is in the Western Hemisphere, and here the United States has its greatest opportunity to exhibit a wise practicality without departure from the liberal ideals upon which its prestige and moral influence must ultimately depend."

Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, states the matter clearly, including in his statement, however, the whole of Latin America. "Our total trade with Latin America, exports and imports, has increased two and a half times in the last ten years, rising from a pre-war average of about $730,000,000 to $1,800,000,000 in 1924. Foremost among these [significant economic changes] is the trebling during the past decade of our investments throughout Latin America. Exclusive of government bonds, they now stand well over $3,000,000,000 as against a little over one billion in 1913. American capital has a dominant position in such basic industries as mining on the West Coast and in Mexico, meat packing in the River Plate region, petroleum in Mexico, Colombia and Peru, and sugar and tobacco in Cuba. Significant advances are also probable along certain lines in Brazil. This participation by American capital in the economic development of Latin America not only stimulates the growth of an important market for American supplies incident to such large scale operations, but makes an even more

important contribution by bringing into use hitherto untouched sources of wealth and well-being, which has reacted profoundly upon the standards of living and the general social and economic outlook for great masses of population in the southern republics" (Article, "The Three Americas," in *The American Weekly,* of Buenos Aires, April 4, 1925).

These facts would seem to correct the impression that there has been a falling off in our commercial relation with South America. At least seven magazines in the United States which dealt with this field have been discontinued and some excessive expectations have been disappointed. It is easy to exaggerate the available resources of South America. But the facts are clear as to the advance which has been made and as to the strengthened economic ties which bind our two continents together. It cannot be denied that South America is pondering this problem of her necessary development by foreign rather than by native capital.

It will be interesting to watch the development of South America's policy with regard to immigration in view of the close economic kinship of the two continents. Will South America follow the example of the United States in restricting European and excluding Asiatic immigration, or will she take exactly the opposite course, or will she pursue a middle course, excluding some types of immigration but welcoming all others with only such restrictions as are necessary to exclude crime and disease? At present the gates politically are rather wide open but the economic allurement and opportunity are not comparable with the attractions of the United States. Yet the spaces are there and the Chinese who can go anywhere could

furnish the labour for them. Japan, for example, is only one-third the size of Venezuela, one of the smaller South American states, and yet the population of Japan is as great as all of South America. To put it otherwise, the whole population of South America could be put into Venezuela alone, leaving all the rest of South America open and yet even then the population of Venezuela would be only one-third the density of the population of Japan. "In a recent book on South America, the author predicts that by 1927 half a million immigrants will have entered Latin America, and that by 1951 a million a year will be pouring in" (Report, Commission V, "Social Movements in South America," p. 7).

At present the tide of immigration is slight compared with what we have experienced in the past in the United States. "Between 1820 and 1922 Brazil received 3,648,374 immigrants, of whom 1,378,876 were Italians and 1,021,277 Portuguese, with the following nationalities in descending proportion: Germans, Russians, Austrians, Syrians, French, British, Irish, Swiss, Swedes, Belgians; and miscellaneous, including about 30,000 Japanese. . . . From 1857 to 1920 more than 5,000,000 reached Argentina by sea alone, chiefly from southern and central Europe and from Asia Minor, with a smaller quota from Great Britain. During 1923 the number of immigrants registered at Buenos Aires was 212,485, representing sixty-nine nationalities from every continent. Italians, Spaniards, Germans and Poles headed the list, but there were quotas even from the new European republics of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Ukrania, Lithuania, Finland, Latvia and Esthonia" (Report, Commission I, "Unoccupied Fields," p. 40f.).

Of these immigrants 300,000 Germans constitute a still unassimilated body in Southern Brazil. There are 250,000 Syrians in Argentina of whom 150,000 are classed as Lebanon Syrians and 100,000 are Mohammedans, Liberals and Protestants. There are also 45,000 Syrians and 25,000 Moslem Turks located in small communities in the cities of Brazil. In Buenos Aires there are 500,000 Italians and Brazil has 2,000,000 people of Italian descent. Indeed there is one new street of beautiful and expensive residences in Sao Paulo largely owned by Italians and Syrians who came as poor immigrants to Brazil.

European immigration to South America has been scanty as compared with the tide which has flowed into the United States. Practically all the South American immigrants have entered Brazil and Argentina, except the few Chinese and Japanese who have come to Peru and Chile. It seems very probable that to temperate South America at least our closed doors will turn some who would otherwise have come to us. At present it is a curious fact that the United States is receiving from Mexico each year as many Latin American immigrants as either Brazil or Argentina is receiving from all Europe.

The problem of how to increase its population and to develop its resources is only one of the social-economic problems of South America. "Perhaps the problem that lies deepest in the majority of the South American nations is the land problem, which has its effect upon the whole economic life of the people, and hence upon the whole of the people's life. Back into this problem root the problems of poverty, of extreme class distinction, of ignorance on the part of the masses and, in a very real way, most of their moral and

spiritual problems, yet it has as yet had but scant attention anywhere in Latin America save in Mexico."

In many of the South American countries the old social and economic order is undisturbed but in Argentina and Chile and Uruguay especially and to a less degree in Brazil, the tides are moving. Civic and welfare movements are springing up dealing with conditions of sanitation and moral health, seeking to abate the appalling infant mortality and the ravaging tuberculosis and venereal disease, working for prison reform and for the care of juvenile delinquency, providing playgrounds and recreative and social organizations. There has grown up a strong temperance movement with indigenous leadership and inspiration.

In Uruguay, which is the foremost country in South America in its legislative program of social progress, there is temperance teaching in the public schools. In Peru the National Society of Temperance is fighting against such conditions as exist in Lima where it alleges there is one "cantina" or place where liquor is sold for every nineteen families, but a public school for only 1,025 families.

"Up to the time of the Panama Congress in 1916, the greater part of South America was practically untouched by the Feminist Movement. Since then, however, it has made rapid strides in a few of the countries, and in the others its influence is increasing daily (*Ibid.*, p. 16). . . . The first cause of the awakening of women in South America is found in the growing interest in the outside world, which all people on the southern continent have so remarkably developed in the last few years. The woman's movement first took form in a simple coming together of the higher class women for charitable purposes under

the auspices of the state Church. In countries like Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, where the woman's movement is the strongest, they have been gradually developing an independence of the Church and are now found to be working out their own problems. These women are more largely concerned with social betterment, community service, the education of the poor, etc., than they are in the securing of the vote for women, although the latter is the principal platform in the organization of several feminist societies" (Report, Commission V, "Social Movements in South America," p. 17).

These women's clubs and other organizations are led by some of the ablest and most respected women in South America and they are laying hold of the social and moral and in some cases the economic and political problems with the same energy and capacity which characterize the women of North America. Some of them are very conservative and close to the Roman Catholic Church. Others have broken completely away from it. The demands of the Women's Rights Association of Buenos Aires are as follows:

"(1) The repeal of all laws which establish a difference between the two sexes and against women. (2) The right of women to hold public office and especially to be members of the National and Regional Councils on Education. (3) The establishment of special courts for children and women. (4) The passing of laws for the protection of maternity and for making legitimate all children that are born. (5) The abolition of all legal prostitution and the establishment of the white life for both sexes. (6) An equality of wages. (7) Equal political rights."

Women are still denied just property rights even in

Argentina and Chile and Uruguay, but a woman from Uruguay, Dr. Paulina Luisi, "was the only woman delegate to the Peace Conference from either North or South America. She also represented Uruguay in the League of Nations" (*Ibid.*, p. 20). In Paraguay the women have done police duty and borne arms, and Maria Gonzales of Asuncion writes that "in Paraguay primary instruction, a part of secondary instruction and much of professional teaching are under the exclusive direction of woman" (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

The labour movement in some of the South American countries "is far advanced while in others, especially outside the large cities, the great majority of labourers are still unconscious of what is wrong in the present order. Often, when they are conscious of injustice, either to individuals or to the group, these workingmen think they are helpless in the face of the power and influence of the landholder or of the capitalist. When the labour movement came into being in the port cities or in other crowded industrial districts, and the labourers tried to protest against wrongs by means of strikes, such as they were told had been successful in Europe, they were met with a show of military force and forced to desist. This made it seem that such a strike was a revolution against the government, and even to-day it is sometimes so regarded.

"However, the new labour movement in some of the countries, especially in South America, is one of the important influences which are bringing about rapid changes in social, economic and political conditions. In the past, two words well described the ordinary labourer; *peon*, denoting a financial obligation to an employer which it was impossible to shake off, and *roto*, indicating a 'broken, ragged person.' In the

cities to-day the ordinary labourer is no longer bound to his master and has reached a position of larger dignity, self-respect and social responsibility" (*Ibid.*, p. 24f.).

In legislation designed to promote social and individual welfare Uruguay is in advance of all the South American countries. She has laws to safeguard labourers against injury, for the indemnification of victims of preventable accidents, establishing an eight-hour day (four years in advance of the United States), regarding night work, old-age pensions, weekly holidays and a National Department of Labour. In labour organization Chile has gone further. The Chilean labourer is a vigorous, even violent type and there is danger ahead in Chile between organized and too often uneducated labour on the one hand, ready to make excessive demands, and the old type of privilege represented in the traditional organization of Chilean society and not unfortified by the importation of old ideas of the relations between capital and labour from Europe and North America. In Argentina there are many explosive elements in the situation, and Buenos Aires with its large European population free from old restraints faces as perplexing a labour problem as any city in the world. Violent forces have been at work in Peru also where they are intensified by repression and persecution by the political authorities and by persons interested in the exploitation of labour.

One of the interesting features of the present situation in South America is the kinship of the students and the labour movement, expressed especially in movements in Chile and Peru, and in the internationalism of the student mind. "On the occasion of the

strike in Cordova, the workingmen went on a sympathetic strike. In Chile, again and again, students and workingmen have made common cause. For example, when, in 1920, there was a mobilization of government troops on the Peruvian border, the students and workingmen stood together in opposition to it. It was the students with the workingmen in Peru who recently stood between the Government and the dedication of the Republic to the Sacred Heart of Jesus" (*Ibid.*, p. 31).

"The number of students in higher educational institutions throughout the Continent,—in universities, colleges, normal and other professional schools,—is approximately 55,000. In influence they are 'probably more responsible for the creation of what there is of public opinion in their several countries than any other force, excepting only the press.' Recent events have shown that the student bodies of South America are no longer mere circles of conventional passivity, to be moulded by their institutions. Their energy and significance as aggressive renovators in educational ideals and national policies, as prophets and makers of a new era, have been demonstrated and enhanced by their organized and reforming revolt against evils and inhibitions which, they believe, impede the larger life of the younger generation and the brighter destiny of their respective countries. Dissatisfied with the mental and spiritual baggage inherited from the past, they have flamed up as heralds of a new day of brotherly citizenship based on social justice and universal education, of personal development through the quest of truth and altruistic service, of international friendship and coöperation for the rise of humanity in a recivilized world, which shall be no more 'a patchwork of

battlefields but an abode of peace'" (Report, Commission I, "Unoccupied Fields," p. 35f.).

This labour and student movement is outside the Church in South America. The Roman Catholic Church has opposed the temperance reform and has allowed the woman movement only so far as it could control it, and in the problem of relations between labour and capital has been identified with the side of the old order. On the other hand it has encouraged some of the efforts of labour for better organization and it is increasingly interested in the social duty of the Church. Bishop Edwards, the most vigorous personality in the Church in Chile, has strong social sympathies and would reorganize much of the Church's activity if he could. The Protestant Churches have been strongly on the side of the temperance reform and for the advancement of women and are beginning to discern their opportunity in the struggle of society to win a better economic order.

A new conscience has developed in South America with regard to the Indians. Brazil is leading in this respect. Under such good men as General Rondon, who went with Mr. Roosevelt on his trip in Brazil, and Dr. Horta Barbosa, a department known as "The Service for the Protection of the Indians" has been established which is seeking to serve the Indians in the truest and best way. General Rondon has worked for thirty years for the Indians and has "learned that the only way to deal with Indians is to love them and never do them violence even when attacked. . . ."

Besides the establishment of its thirty-five stations, the Indian Service has opened new roads, has cleared rivers of obstructions to make them navigable, and has brought into use machinery and motor-boats.

"The ideas prevailing in the administration of this department are liberal and humanitarian; the reservations belonging to the Indians are effectively defended, so far as the enforcement of the law is possible, against political interference and against disorderly agents, who thrive in regions where no law can be enforced" (Report, Commission II, "The Indians of South America," p. 24f.).

In Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia where the Indians and Indian blood represent a far larger proportion of the national life, the problem is more difficult. "It is estimated, however, that about fifty-five per cent. of the population of Peru is Indian, *i. e.*, about 2,500,000; that in Bolivia about fifty per cent. of the population is Indian, and twenty-seven per cent. a mixed race with Indian blood and character predominating, amounting in all to about 1,500,000; that in Ecuador, the Indians number about seventy-five per cent., or 1,200,000; while in Colombia, about forty per cent. are pure Indians, or 2,500,000" (*Ibid.*, p. 14f.). Such figures are only suggestive, however. No doubt forty per cent. of the blood of Colombia is Indian blood but there are not 2,500,000 "pure Indians" in Colombia. The number deserving to be so called is perhaps not above 250,000. The governments of all these countries doubtless desire the education and progress of the Indian but the economic and social forces are tending constantly to hold them down. In no small measure the future of the west coast republics at least is dependent upon the adoption by these nations of a policy that will bring industrial education and economic freedom to these Indian peoples.

All these aspects of the present situation in South America that we have thus far considered are in a

true sense religious but we turn now to treat more distinctly and specifically religious questions. What is the attitude of the South American people towards religion? A comprehensive answer has been supplied by a professor in a Latin American university.

"Religion, as such, does not influence, and I doubt that it ever has seriously interested, the lives of the Latin American peoples. So-called believers never could see in religion other than rites and ceremonies; unbelievers nothing better than superstition. Consequently, religion has never furnished to the first named any efficient control of conduct; nor, to the second, any matter worthy of serious attention. Hence it is that the expressions of religious fidelity, which now and again appear on the pages of our histories, either have no real significance, are children of a false historical interpretation, or respond to the desire to favour the continuance of certain practices which, in spite of everything to be said against them, are deemed useful for the weaker vessels of society, *i. e.*, for women and children. Thus Quiroga could inscribe 'Religion' on his war banners, but not therefore was he any the less one of the most sinister figures in the anarchic period of our history. And Belgrano, illustrious and virtuous patriot, who is always classed amongst sincere Catholics, in the highlands of Peru, while making a mock of the infantile religious superstitions of the masses, did not any the less fail to make effort to placate them, delivering the flag he himself had created to the custody of the Virgin.

"*Reasons for the Lack of Religious Feeling in South America.*

"Why may it be that religion has so small an influence on the peoples of these countries? Why have they never taken it seriously? These are more than serious questions. To answer them adequately requires an amount

of attention, not at present available. The following factors, however, may deserve consideration.

"(*a*) *Our Græco-Roman antecedents on religious matters:*—These were profoundly formalistic and widely separated from the God concept.

"(*b*) *The psychology of the Spanish people which we have inherited:*—This is a psychology which was shapen or misshapen through the eight centuries of a death struggle with Islam. That struggle, which made the Cross the indiscussible and incontrovertible symbol of national unity in Spain through the middle ages, suppressed all religious speculations, petrifying and perverting Christianity, making it more a matter of politics than of religion, more an emblem of war than of peace.

"(*c*) *The military conquest of South America:*—Say of this what one will, and postulate the exceptions that one may, it was fundamentally encouraged and sustained by material motives.

"(*d*) *Popular indifference:*—Our cosmopolitanism, which has confounded all races and religions, has inevitably obliged us to an absolute toleration, which has developed in its finality to an equally absolute indifference.

"(*e*) *Our condition as a people in embryo:*—This has driven universal preoccupation to the field of utilitarianism.

"The two ultimate factors might have been overcome, had any potent spiritual factors been riveted to our soil, as in the case of the United States of America. Since none such existed, these factors have only accentuated the evil.

"In view of these reasons it is open to affirmation that, rather than Protestantism, it is Roman Catholicism which has reason to complain of the small favour with which it is viewed. Not long since, Monsignore Baudrillat, in a public lecture delivered in Paris, expounding his impressions gathered in Argentina, emphasized the religious coldness that he found here. Recently a phrase has been

attributed to Doctor Alvear (the Argentine President) which I consider of absolute precision, 'I have become acquainted with Catholics in France, but I have never met a single Catholic in Argentina'" (Report, Commission VII, "The Church and the Community," p. 33f.).

It would be too summary to leave the matter with this statement. It is evident to many that "the present moment offers exceptional opportunities for evangelism in South America. There are stirring in the southern continent certain great movements which not only afford opportunities for the entrance of the Gospel, but also make it incumbent upon Evangelical Christianity to spread the Gospel message broadcast. Two outstanding reasons may be given for a more active propagation of the Gospel in South America just now. (1) There is a growing spirit of materialism as opposed to a spiritual interpretation of life, and an accompanying tendency to throw overboard anything that savours of religion; and (2) there is a rapidly growing tendency to question all traditional modes of thought and action, which finds constant expression in the political, social and religious realms and is particularly noticeable in the realm of religion.

"Naturally, in the discussion of these and other influences, it is necessary to keep constantly in mind the fact that there are wide differences existing between the countries, and that within the countries themselves there are widely different classes of people whose attitudes are largely determined by the degree of education and culture to which they have attained and the degree of freedom and independence which they have reached in their economic and social life. It would manifestly not be fair to say that there are no spiritual

forces at work within the South American republics, even in those which show the greatest hostility to religion. But an impartial observer could not fail to see that with an increasingly large section of the population, the dominant Church has ceased to stand as a spiritual force or to represent more than a social and political institution. There are not lacking here and there men and women, operating quite without the sphere of any ecclesiastical organization, who are real prophets of the spiritual life and who are doing much to stem the tide of materialistic philosophy which is threatening to engulf South America" (Report, Commission IV, "Evangelism," p. 5).

A large section of the people are skeptics in matters of religion. Their skepticism takes different forms.

"(*a*) *Hostility towards religion*:—There is real hostility towards religion and towards Christianity in particular. A remarkable case of anti-religious sentiment is recorded of the editor of one of the leading newspapers in South America. On one occasion, when this newspaper transcribed a portion of the Constitution of the United States of America, it did so leaving out the name of God. When brought to task very severely for this omission by other members of the local press, the answer was given that the divine name was omitted because the concept connected therewith was too utterly antiquated to be incorporated in any serious contemporary document! The Republic of Uruguay has given secular names to all public festivals, suppressing all names with a religious association. As an example, it has changed the name 'Holy Week' into 'Touring Week,' affording thereby a further illustration of the same anti-religious spirit.

"In most cases hostility to religion takes the form

of opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, especially to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Anti-clericalism is one of the dominant notes in the life of each South American country. Even many who are sincere Catholics are violently anti-clerical. There is, in addition, considerable opposition to Protestantism. The whole Evangelical missionary movement is viewed by many people as essentially political in its aims. They regard it as a political weapon of the United States, a preparing of the way for so-called 'Yankee imperialism.'

"It must be admitted, however, that positive hostility to religion is not so common in South America, at the present time, as it was a generation ago, when the philosophy of positivism swayed the minds of thinkers and politicians. For example, there are no great writers at the present time who follow in the steps of the Peruvian, Gonzalez Prada, and the Ecuadorian, Montalvo. So far as religious skepticism is concerned the sneer of Voltaire and the air of intellectual superiority with which Comte and his followers relegated religions to the past has given place in many minds to a deep-seated indifference.

"(*b*) *Indifference towards religion:*—This is probably the predominant mood of the majority of educated people and of a large section of the common people. The religious problem as such has no interest for them. For them there is no problem. They have not thought the matter through nor come to such reasoned conclusions as would lead them to adopt a definitely anti-religious position. They rather adopt a passive attitude, excluding religion from the purview of their thoughts" (*Ibid.*, p. 14f.).

Thus Dr. Montero Pauller writes in *El Progresso*

Religioso: "I do not believe in God. Nor do I take the trouble to know or think about whether He exists or not." And an Uruguayan student writes of the student outlook on religion: "Their conception of religion (that of young Uruguayans) is that it represents solely ritualism, formalism and preoccupations about the other life. The evil is due to the Roman Church which in these countries of America has been sole master of the religious field. It has left in the spirit of youth a false concept of what religion is. The word 'religion' alarms our young men. The name of Christ does not inspire profound admiration, and Christianity is regarded as simply moral doctrine, or a superior but unrealizable conception of life,—only a stupendous theory. They do not understand that there can be Christians who are not sad and groaning individuals. They do not admit that Christianity is a renovating and powerful force, a source of stimulus for action on behalf of humanity."

"To the same purpose writes Dr. Ernesto Nelson regarding the prevailing religious indifference in the Argentine:

"'Speaking broadly, men are non-religious, and I must declare that the great majority of men who have distinguished themselves in public service are men without church connection. I will go so far as to state here that a sort of suspicion lingers about a churchman, for people know that loyalty to the Catholic Church does not always mean loyalty to what is right and just. However, no matter how out of sympathy a man may feel against the Catholic Church, the foundation principles of Christianity often find a sympathetic response from him. That is not a general fact, however. In the minds of educated men, there

is often no place left where sound religious ideas may develop. With them even morality has lost its religious foundations. In such cases morality derives its strength from the sense of honour or from patriotic motives. You will find hundreds of men ready to accept their neighbour's burden whose acts are prompted not by religious motives but by an unmixed sense of duty and a pure desire to do good. . . . Men of moral stamina generally drift away from religious activities as soon as they discover that the Catholic Church is chiefly a power-seeking institution and that ignorance and superstition are her most fruitful allies'" (*Ibid.*, p. 16).

As to the South American student attitude to religion in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, there is reported "a slight Catholic revival in increased student attendance at services and participation in the works of the Church. But it cannot be said that the voice of the evangelist has been heard in academic halls, or that the Evangelical Churches have impressed themselves with any clear, constructive influence upon the student communities. There has been no perceptible turning to Christ in the schools, where there have been no New Testaments or Christian teachers to present His claims.

"In the universities the consciously religious element is relatively as small as it was before the stir of the present student movement. So far as clear knowledge and profession of Christianity are concerned the same conditions of ignorance, indifference, negation, radicalism and hostility prevail. Of a current attendance of about 10,000 students at the University of Buenos Aires, investigation indicates that not more than ten per cent. are 'nominally identified' with

Roman Catholicism; another ten per cent. are antagonistic to the Roman Church, with a Protestantism which protests but has no contact with Evangelical Christianity. The remaining eighty per cent. register no religious convictions whatever. Not a single Evangelical Christian is reported in this university, except two or three missionaries attending courses.

"At the University of Cuzco it was recently estimated that of its 500 students one per cent. should be classed as actively Catholic; one per cent. as actively Protestant; eight per cent. favourable to Catholicism; twenty per cent. sympathetic with Protestantism, and the remaining seventy per cent. entirely indifferent to all forms of religion.

"These two universities represent the general situation in the secular institutions of the Continent, in the matter of religious commitment and declaration" (Report, Commission I, "Unoccupied Fields," p. 37).

But this analysis leaves us with an untrue and discouraging outlook. Offsetting these dreary facts are brighter ones: "In spite of the widespread religious indifference, there has made its appearance in South America in recent years, and in some countries more than in others, a decided interest in religion and in the things of the spirit. This nascent religious interest is due to a series of causes. One has been the philosophic influence of such thinkers as Bergson and Boutroux, Emerson and James, who have routed the systems of Comte and Herbert Spencer, the men by whom the last generation swore. It is a remarkable fact that the Peruvian thinker who first introduced the philosophy of Spencer to the intellectual life of his country, lives to introduce Bergson—an instance of how thoroughly South American thinkers have been

swayed by prevailing tendencies in European thought. The idealism of the thinkers mentioned has made a place for religion and for spiritual values in life.

"A second cause has undoubtedly been the recent popularity, especially among the younger generation, of the work of men like Tolstoy, Unamuno and Romain Rolland. It has dawned upon the youth of the continent that intellectual and religious interests are not incompatible, nor mutually exclusive, but that there are great progressive thinkers, for whom religion constitutes the chief source of their mental energy and the chief object of their spiritual preoccupation.

"One might specify as a third cause the deep-seated feeling that one of the lacks in South American life hitherto has been the absence of a spiritual ideal. For the supply of this lack men look wistfully towards religion" (Report, Commission XI, "Special Religious Problems in South America," p. 16f.).

This phenomenon of nascent religious concern is expressed in a new intellectual interest in religion, as illustrated, for example, in the following paragraph from the program of the National Congress of Peruvian students held in Lima in December, 1924:

"The Students' Congress cannot handle the religious problem in the form in which the generations of last century would have done. The youth of to-day must face this problem free from every kind of prejudice, both from the prejudices that come from fanaticism and dogmatism and which are a consequence of professing a religious creed, as well as from those which are derived from an incomprehensive, anachronic and sectarian Jacobinism. The relations between Church and State, the relations between the Church and the community, should

be contemplated as purely social questions, with serene criticism free from all passions.

"The religious problem possesses a very interesting aspect for the youth of the present generation. The life of man cannot be reduced to the satisfaction of material necessities. His spirit has profound longings; it asks itself serious questions which can only be satisfied and answered in the domain of art and religion. These deep needs of the spirit cannot be forgotten by youth when it confronts the religious problem. They cannot be extinguished; they must, therefore, be satisfied; they are essential to human life; they, therefore, merit our respect. These concepts have not been taken into account in the past. The external and social aspect of religion has been confounded with its inner and moral aspect. This explains the fierce fanatical struggles which have been provoked whenever the religious problem was tackled. The free and idealistic youth of to-day should delimit well those frontiers and not confound religion itself with its exploiters" (*Ibid.*, p. 18).

Abundant evidence is to be found of spiritual unrest and discontent. "The contemporary religious consciousness in South America is very complex; but there can be observed, in the upper reaches of thought, a distinct tendency towards what is idealistic and spiritual. This tendency is more marked in some countries than in others. Students of religious life on the continent who are conversant with the situation in different countries have remarked that it is probably in Peru where the rising tide of spiritual interest has reached its highest in representative men. Whether this be so or not, it is a fact that there are thoughtful men in every South American country who are no longer satisfied with positivistic science and even ideal-

istic philosophy. They reach out beyond the limits of verifiable facts and airy concepts. They scan the universe for a Companion. Their eyes, as Galvez puts it, 'look much at the sky'" (*Ibid.*, p. 20).

While they are looking some strange messages have come to them. Theosophy and Spiritism and Positivism have made strong appeal, the last two especially in Brazil, but theosophy both in Brazil and in Argentina and Chile. And the Positivist Church or Comtism, while very small, embraces some of the very best and most useful men in Brazil.

Something further must be said with regard to the place of the Roman Catholic Church in the present situation in South America. What has been already said is evidence enough that South America is not the possession and reserve of that Church. Her actual field of influence and her real ministry are far smaller than they are in the United States. There are wide areas where she does not operate. "There are vast rural populations, unnumbered small towns and villages, and Indian districts to which it does not minister at all" (Report, Commission I, "Unoccupied Fields," p. 32). "In Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, it is the official religion. In Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay and Paraguay, Church and State are separate. In the Argentine Republic the relation between the two is anomalous. There is no official religion, but the State recognizes the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church in the country" (Report, Commission XI, "Special Religious Problems in South America," p. 21). The judgment which one gains from a comparison of impressions to-day throughout South America with impressions of fifteen years ago is that the Roman Catholic Church is far more efficient

and active now than it was then. Large numbers of European priests have come in; new schools have been established; philanthropic and social work has been encouraged; the teaching of the people in schools and by preaching has been increased, and the intellectual and moral tone of the priesthood has been raised.

On the other hand, it is not clear that the great fundamental ideas of Christianity are any more clearly discussed and proclaimed, such as Jesus Christ and His Cross and Resurrection. "Jesus Christ, in the religious art of South American Catholicism, is represented either as a babe in His mother's arms or as a tragic figure upon a cross. That is to say, He is enshrined in popular thought and imagination as an object for the exercise of maternal affection or compassion. The typically Spanish Christ—the Christ of the famous picture of Velasquez, for example,—is the symbol of pure tragedy. According to Unamuno, the Spanish race has seen in this tragic figure the symbol of its own tragic history. The reality of the risen Christ and the note of triumph associated with His resurrection has had practically no meaning. The truth is that the historic Jesus has always appeared to the Spanish Catholic mind as an essentially shadowy and bloodless figure, immeasurably removed from ordinary life, a figure so charged with divinity as to be bereft of humanity. The divine has been exalted at the expense of the human. By regarding Him simply as an actor in a drama, or as a divine automaton lacking self-determination, a gulf has been established between the Son of God and the struggling and sinning sons of men" (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

"You must remember," said Dr. Nelson of Argentina, to the Congress at Montevideo, "that you come

to South America under a discredited banner." South America cannot be left to the exclusive possession of the forces that have given the continent its present conception of Christ and His Gospel. The Roman Catholic Church, moreover, though in many lands it was the ally of the liberators of the nations from Spain, has in recent years been the supporter of the reactionary governments, as in Colombia, Venezuela and Peru, and the adversary of the liberal governments, as in Chile and Brazil. It has not forgotten the eightieth proposition of the syllabus of Pope Leo XIII, "The Roman Pontiff should not enter into agreement, neither be reconciled to progress, liberalism and modern civilization." And it has not been the leader of the people to life and freedom. Gabriela Mistral, the Chilean poetess and one of the noblest spirits in South America, describes herself as "ingrained in Catholicism after years of doubting," but she laments the lack of this leadership in the Church:

"What I have seen is this; our form of Christianity, contrary to that of the Anglo-Saxon form, has divorced itself from the social question, indeed has disdained it, and has held as paralyzed or dead the sense of justice, until this sense has risen up in others and has taken the Church's following away. A faith which began miraculously among the common people and which only very slowly won its way among the powerful, ought never to have forgotten its source; but while respecting this popular tradition, it ought to have seen that, entirely apart from its religion, the so-called common people, whom I call the wonderful people, are for their very number the only soil which can maintain it. Other classes, however solid they may be, give it only a poor support. Wherefore, neither by tradi-

tion nor by any careful calculation has Christianity been loyal to her humble followers. We must not lose so many souls, since, however much our own souls are worth, God could not pardon the abandonment of the multitudes who fill almost the whole world. Catholicism must regain what, either by neglect or selfishness, she has lost, and this will be possible if Catholics show that truly they are capable of renunciation, or, in other words, are capable of the very essence of her teaching. The hunger for justice awakened in the people cannot be satisfied by a few meagre concessions. The people know that they will gain the essential reforms without her help. Their attitude is not, therefore, that of trembling supplication. We must accustom ourselves to the new accent among the popular masses" (Report, Commission IV, "Evangelism," p. 8).

But it will be very erroneous to think that the Roman Church does not have a deep anchorage and influence in South America and that there are not strong reasons for its power.

Both the strength and the weakness of the Roman Catholic Church are full of lessons for all Churches everywhere and especially in Latin America. It is another fact in the present situation that there are other Churches in South America. Those who ask whether the Evangelical Churches have any right to be there ask a purely academic question. They are there and they are as national and vital and natural as the Roman Catholic Church. During the past ten years they have grown in numbers and in influence. Between the years 1916 and 1924 "the number of organized churches in the continent has grown from 856 to 1,283, an increase of fifty per cent. The com-

municant membership has added 29,029, which is almost one-fourth of the present total membership (122,266), and a thirty-one per cent. increment over the membership of 1916 (93,237).

" The total evangelical community (including known adherents and all under Christian instruction except Sunday-school pupils) has more than doubled. It has grown from 122,875 to 251,196, an increase of 128,321. The number of Sunday-school pupils and teachers has increased from 50,739 to 108,599, a gain of over one hundred per cent.

" To the staff of national Christian workers 662 have been added. From 1,342 it has grown to 2,004, a gain of slightly over fifty per cent. During the eight years 529 new foreign missionaries have entered the continent—approximately thirty per cent. of the present total number of workers from abroad (1,736).

" The number of out-stations and other places exclusive of residence stations, where worship and preaching are conducted, has grown by 1,296, from 895 to 1,191, a gain of over sixty-nine per cent. The Evangelical centers or resident stations have increased by ninety-eight, from 267 to 365, a gain of thirty-seven per cent.

" The largest numerical advance, both actual and proportionate, has been made in Brazil; Argentina and Chile follow next in order. In Brazil the total Evangelical community has more than doubled, the communicant church membership has increased more than one-third, the number of organized churches more than one-half, the national workers have grown nearly one hundred per cent., the ordained Brazilian ministers thirty-three per cent. Forty-five new central or residence stations have been established. Other places of

preaching and worship have grown from 364 to 1,765, an almost five-fold gain" (Report, Commission I, "Unoccupied Fields," p. 16).

"The view that South America was already 'religiously preëmpted,' that its total population of 60,000,000 was virtually included in the membership and ministries of the Roman Catholic Church, and that, with content and conviction, the whole continent was permanently committed to the exclusive tutelage of the Catholic system, has yielded to increasing recognition of the groundlessness of that assumption. The sentimental presupposition that the Evangelical Church with its Puritan simplicity of worship, the intellectual verve and personal glow of its Gospel message, with its ethical and social exactions, would win no response from the Latin temperament accustomed to gorgeous ritual and high-sounding dogma, has been effectively dissolved. In the foremost republics like Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Brazil the Evangelical Church is seen to have 'arrived.' Scruples concerning South America as a legitimate field of non-Roman missions may be pronounced as virtually destroyed" (*Ibid.*, p. 9). These Churches are at work in a field of great need that no Church has fully occupied.

The clearest evidence of the new power and influence of the Evangelical Churches is to be found, unhappily, in the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. For years the Roman Catholic Church ignored the evangelical movement. Now, however, it has become well informed regarding it and has begun to describe it in its publications, not unfairly. There have been also, however, official declarations both unfair and unworthy, as in Brazil:

"Protestantism is a fruit of human pride in revolt against the authority of the Church; a monk and a nun, forgetting the holy vows of celibacy, were the originators of this revolt; kings and princes have patronized this movement to find a way of escaping from the sacramental ties of matrimony; the absence of images and religious symbols is a proof of atheism; missions are a business proposition, whose chief exploiters are the Bible societies; missionaries are political agents who are working with a view to denationalize the people and pave the way for commercial and political interests of Anglo-Saxon nations" (Report, Commission VII, "The Church and the Community," p. 8).

In Peru, "the Archbishop of Lima is considered to be a broad-minded man. He has travelled both in Europe and the United States, yet in a pastoral letter published on March 7, 1924, this prelate allowed himself to make the following statements: 'There are Protestant denominations which permit indefinite divorce; others adultery, not a few polygamy, abortions, infanticide and many other crimes.' This is regarded by him as the logical consequence of the principles of free investigation (libre examen). 'Protestantism, should it become established in our country, would certainly produce more terrible and disastrous effects than those which it is producing in the countries where it has had its origin. A manifestation of the Protestant spirit is that unbridled avidity with which are read and divulged even by the newspapers, the most pornographic and unsettling books'" (Report, Commission XI, "Special Religious Problems in South America," p. 35).

Such misrepresentations must not lead the Evangelical Churches to any harsh reply. They are evi-

dence that the work is not ineffective. It is confronting the old Church with a new situation which is for its good. Indeed the Roman Catholic Church in South America could well afford to support the evangelical missionary movement for the good that is to come from it to the Roman Catholic Church for itself and in its future work in South America.

This new situation in South America calls for a strengthening of the spiritual ties between us and these nations. I have called attention to the strengthening of the economic bonds. There are those in South America who dread the effect both of economic and of political relations with the United States. Recent South American literature teems with evidence of this dread. Manuel Ugarte is one of the most influential of these voices of Latin America. While a young man he went to Europe to study. "At the age of twenty he happened to come over to North America. His admiration for New York was great. While there he came across a quotation from Senator Preston's speech in 1838: 'The starred banner will float all over Latin America, to the Tierra del Fuego, the only limit which the ambition of our race recognizes.' He was bewildered. However, further investigation into the history of the United States revealed to him the advances of this nation towards the South at the expense of Latin America: California, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Cuba, Panama, etc. The result was that he decided to dedicate his life to the cause of Latin America. He has written and lectured extensively on the subject. He says that he is not an enemy of the great Republic to the North. He is an admirer, but wants Latin America to deal with North America in terms of equality and not of dependency.

He wants Latin America to stand together for her own development and protection." In his book "The Destiny of a Continent," Ugarte makes three main points: "First, that there is danger in the imperialistic tendencies of the United States and that Latin America must check this advance if she is to keep her own traditional type of civilization; second, the only way to bring this about is for all Latin American nations to come together; third, the peoples of Latin America feel the necessity and desire for such a coming together, but politicians are either indifferent or entirely dominated by the economic pressure of the North." And altogether too much is said and done to-day which feeds these fears. Mr. H. H. Powers, in "America Among the Nations," speaks as follows:

"It is difficult to follow the expansion of America in the Caribbean without feeling that it will go farther. Utter recklessness and incompetency have characterized the management of every one of these pseudo-states which the preoccupations of the real nations have temporarily abandoned to independence. It was a matter of chance which one of the dancers should first pay the piper, but all have danced and all must pay. To the independence party Central America is its own little world. To the imperialistic party it is but a pawn on the mighty chessboard of world empire. The United States plays the vaster game, must play it and play it well, for the stake is its existence. We have learned subtler ways of winning, more varied ways of ruling. Never was our frontier more alive than it is to-day. Not one American in a hundred realizes that we have a protectorate over Haiti and that our control is creeping out through all these southern seas. If he knew, his only reaction would probably be a slightly increased complacency. The door

is thus opened wide for a government, embarrassed by the mischievous irresponsibility of these petty-believe states, to take refuge in an ever-broadening imperialism" (Report, Commission VII, "The Church and the Community," p. 31).

Americans in South America and on the steamships indulge in similar talk. I asked an American on the streets of Valparaiso whether there would be political disturbances in Chile. "Oh, no," he replied, "the United States would not allow it. The United States owns this country, the United States and England." What he said to me he would say also to Chileans. It was not true, but that fact did not undo its harm. In the smoking-rooms on the steamer one hears such talk unceasingly. "What America says goes." "We are going to own all these lands." "We can have them when we want them." A hundred men deprecate such folly to every man who indulges in it but their silence does not undo his foolish speech.

As an illustration of the feeling caused by such utterances one may quote such a statement as the following from a prominent Argentine scholar, Dr. Abeledo:

"As is well known up until the present whenever reference is made to closer relations between the two Americas the intensification of economic relations between them is the usual method advocated. This attitude, in which many eminent personalities have taken part, has not been able to accomplish the desired results. It is certainly true that in Latin America the conviction seems to have grown largely that the egotistic motive is the one that guides the United States in its relations with these countries, and the materialistic conception of the North American civilization has been more largely confirmed in

recent time. The current of sympathy towards his country which Wilson succeeded in arousing during the war and which caused Ricardo Rojas to say that 'the legend of a ruddy and cannibalistic Yankee had disappeared and that the United States was displaying a magnificent spirit' has gradually disappeared. For people in general once again the North American civilization is considered as barbaric and automatically moved only by utilitarian objective. We would even venture to say, at least in reference to Argentina, that she finds herself further removed from the United States to-day than she was in the sixth and seventh decade of the past century. At that time, at least, our people were influenced by the fervid enthusiasm for North American democracy, felt by Sarmiento and Alberdi. Certainly with France and England, the United States had captured our sympathy. To-day this has all been modified. While France continues captivating us by the excellencies of her literature, and Great Britain continues attracting our thinkers as the country of free institutions and good political sense, the United States presents herself to us as principally concerned in the conquest of our markets" (Report, Commission VII, "The Church and the Community," p. 32).

One does not want to believe that this represents the mind of South America. Undoubtedly there are many who think in this way, but there is also a deep understanding in South America of the true feeling of the United States and a widespread sympathy and good-will, and we need to do everything in our power to strengthen the idealistic and spiritual ties which bind our peoples and to make sure that our commerce with the South American nations is both for their advantage and for ours, and not "a conquest of markets" or the source even of an unintentional domination of their economic and social autonomy. The

strongest spiritual ties which we have with South America at present are the ties of the Evangelical Churches. Our American Roman Catholic Church has so few relations with South America that recently one of its journals even denied that there was such a Bishop in Chile as Bishop Edwards. And our religious relationships are not free from suspicion just because they are erroneously interpreted both by some South Americans and by some Europeans in South America as cloaking economic and political intrigue. All the greater is the work which they have to do and all the more important that that work should be done in full spiritual truth.

There are those who will not believe this. They believe that commercial and trade relations by themselves are unifying. They may be so. But on the contrary they may be alienating and divisive. Dr. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, at the Politics Institute at Williamstown in the summer of 1925 declared that "the spread of cultural and intellectual interests from the United States, rather than economic penetration shall be the basis for harmony between this country and its sister republics to the South. 'I believe it is a fallacy,' he went on, 'that closer commercial ties bring closer understanding. Recent history shows that greater misunderstanding is more often the result of increasing foreign investments'" (*The New York Times*, July 28, 1925).

If, finally, as one of the ablest reports presented at Montevideo declared in its closing words, "the Evangelical movement" in South America "is to be a true organ of the purpose and power of God, two things are necessary from the human side, a prophetic spirit and an adequate embodiment.

"(*a*) *A prophetic spirit:*—South America's chief need is prophets, prophetic men and prophetic books. The spoken and the written word are both required to make the oracles of the Eternal echo through every nook and cranny of individual and continental life. Fire-anointed lips like Isaiah's and pens guided by an intimate experience of God and His will are the prime necessity. These, and these only, are capable of flashing new spiritual visions before the minds of men and of illuminating the sordidness of present conditions with the white majesty of purity and truth.

"(1) The first need is a *new vision of sin.* Sin as a bloodless theologic abstraction or ceremonial omission must give place to sin as a personal infraction of some eternal law of righteousness. What Puritan theologians called 'law work,' meaning the pricking of conscience by the application of God's law, 'which is exceeding broad,' is required to awaken the dormant sense of sin. Sins, secret and public, must be 'set before the light of His countenance.' Evil in all its phases must be shown to stand in eternal opposition to the will of a holy and loving God. The meaning of holiness, human and divine, must be interpreted to the people in language they can understand. Isaiah, who saw God 'high and lifted up' in the temple; the men whom Christ called 'whited sepulchres,' and those He drove from the temple courts; Peter, who denied His Master, and Judas, who betrayed Him, must all be allowed to tell their stories. The King of Israel who violated the sanctity of a home and suffered ever after in his own; Lady Macbeth's hand which all Arabia's perfumes could not sweeten; a scarlet letter on a human breast; scars on children's characters and faces, betokening parents' sins; broken human earthenware jettisoned in one-room hovels or stinking prisons, must show the consequences of sin, one's own or that of others. In a word, Scripture and literature, art and science must be made vocal, to broadcast through South American lands the

eternal distinction between right and wrong and the eternal connection between sin and suffering.

" (2) *A new vision of Christ* is a second necessity. The Jesus of pure tragedy, the ' Spanish Christ,' must be supplemented by that powerful Personality who burned with indignation when confronted with organized deceit and oppression stalking beneath the cloak of religion. At the same time the infinite tenderness of Jesus towards the sinful, the weak and the helpless, should receive equal emphasis. In a word, we believe that in South America the view of Christ which should be most constantly and vividly presented is that in which He appears in closest connection with sin. Let Him stand forth in the Gospel message as the stern Judge of wanton evil, as the merciful Friend of struggling sinners, as the Divine Saviour whose passage through Time was an event of redemptive significance and whose endless existence as the Exalted Lord guarantees the triumph of righteousness upon earth.

" (3) In close connection with a new view of Christ we would emphasize a *new view of Christian discipleship.* The fundamental relationship between believing and living should clearly be set forth. Stress should be laid upon the fact that a believer in Jesus Christ cannot live for himself; cannot fulfil his religious obligations by the fulfilment of mere rites; cannot relegate his religious convictions to a wardrobe or a lumber room, to take them out only on special occasions. It should be made clear that for each Christian soul there is a self to be denied, a Master to be followed, a Cross to be borne, and a Kingdom to be established, where God shall be all and in all, and where His will shall be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

" (*b*) *An adequate embodiment:*—The prophetic spirit to which we have referred must be adequately embodied in institutional forms.

" (1) The Evangelical movement *should touch life at as many points as possible.* This is necessary for two

reasons: Firstly, because the movement is taken to represent civilizations, which have been moulded by Evangelical thought and life, and secondly, because the Christian life should be expressed in connection with every legitimate form of human activity. In other words, it is necessary that as comprehensive a program as possible of missionary activity should be developed in order that the results of Christian faith in different aspects of life may lead the thoughts of men to the Christ who is the object and inspirer of that faith.

"(2) The Evangelical movement *should be as non-ecclesiastical as possible.* The impression should not be given that iron-cast kinds of ecclesiastical organization are necessary for the production and development of Christian character. Special effort should be made to avoid the imposition or perpetuation of ecclesiastical forms that do not belong to the essence of New Testament Christianity, and which may not be suitable for the development of Christian life in South America. This will mean that the idea must not be allowed to perpetuate itself in South America that Protestant denominations are no more than a set of warring organizations whose sole aim is their own glorification and aggrandizement.

"(3) The Evangelical movement *should make provision for the delivery of a religious message without the ordinary trappings of a religious service.* It is our conviction that the greatest opportunity of the present hour in South America is theirs who will deliver God's message as it was once delivered by the sea of Galilee and on the Athenian Areopagus without any of the elements of worship. That is to say, what is known in Spanish as the 'conferencia sin culto,' should become one of the recognized institutions of the Evangelical movement. From all parts of the continent testimonies have come to the effect that the simple unaccompanied presentation of the Gospel by men who have the power to do so clearly, attractively and with passionate

earnestness, will win a hearing anywhere. This kind of institution is particularly necessary on a continent where the traditional conception of religion is that it is separated by an impassable chasm from all thought and life that are worthy of the name. If the average South American regards religion as nothing more than ritual, he must be taught that in Christ's religion form is a contingent, not a constitutive property, the expression of spiritual life, not its substitute or creator" (Report, Commission XI, "Special Religious Problems in South America," pp. 48, 49).

The best service which we can render to the South American nations and to our own country in its relations with South America, the best service which we can render to the great Church which came to South America with the discoverers and which has been interwoven with the life and heredity of the continent for four hundred years, the best service which we can render to the kindly, aspiring people of these lands, who share with us and with whom we share the duty of making these two continents the dwelling place of righteousness and peace, is to carry this Evangelical movement through to the accomplishment of its clear and worthy task in all these lands, theirs and ours.

LECTURE VII

THE UNFINISHED TASK ON THE FOREIGN FIELD

THERE have always been those who argued against the validity of foreign missions as a distinct undertaking of the Church. Usually this has been done deliberately in the interest of retaining at home the energies which were in danger of going abroad. To-day, however, there are those who argue against the distinctive work of foreign missions on the ground that it has ceased to be real, that "the distinction between home and foreign Christian effort is a false distinction. . . . There is no such thing as foreign missions. . . . There are tasks—war, race, industry, health, education, conversion—and these tasks extend around the world. They can be dealt with successfully only as they are dealt with everywhere at once. To attempt to put any part of them in a special compartment is misleading and weakening. Individual interests will keep up the administrative divisions inherited from the days of the world's diversity for a while longer. Ultimately, however, the change is coming. . . . The attempt to separate Kingdom work into geographical divisions will break down through its own artificiality. Foreign missions is bound to give way to Christian missions" (*The Christian Century,* February 19, 1925).

There is deep truth in this view. The trouble with it, however, is that it is only part of the truth and that it is only partly true. Ultimately foreign missions

will wholly disappear, and home missions also. Already some denominations have abandoned the term "home missions" altogether. There is ample work still to be done but it is not really "home missions" any more. In a still more complete way "foreign missions" will come to an end. Foreign missionaries are constantly working to accomplish this very result. There may still be help of more kinds than one which the Churches of one land can give to another land but it will not be help of the kind covered by the term "foreign missions." It will be foreign. It can't be anything else so long as the two nations concerned are separate nations, and if "Christian" and "missionary" are completely interchangeable words, the help involved may be called by either name. But an accurate use of words will doubtless have resulted by that time in a nomenclature quite different from that which has hitherto fitted and which still accurately describes the actual existing situation. The foreign field is a foreign field and the work called for there is not identical with the work called for at home, and it is to be feared that it will not be for a long time to come. It is to be feared also that the attempt to ignore or deny real distinctions may result in no good to any interest. There are several Churches which have organized their boards on the theory of the words which I have quoted and the unmistakable fact is that those Churches are doing in their work both at home and abroad far less than other Churches which still persist in recognizing reality and dealing with facts.

Foreign missions are still a logical and necessary specialization of duty and service. It is obvious that they must be this to individuals or there will be no such work done, by whatever name it may be called.

A man cannot work geographically in two different places and he, at least, must embody in himself a distinction, even if those who would generalize all Christian effort into one conception and mode deny the possibility of it. And the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, against which a great deal of criticism has been directed, is absolutely justified in its tenacious fidelity to its original purpose. The sooner there is no further need for it the better. That day will come when the need for corresponding effort to find men for the Christian ministry and for general Christian service will still exist and be greater than it has ever been, but it has not come yet. The distinctive foreign mission task is still too far from being done.

It is to be joyfully recognized that there is indeed a sense in which Christian work all over the world and in all occupations, "secular and sacred," to use the words for the moment, is one. We have one Lord. We serve Him in one loyalty. We work for one Kingdom. But foreign missions represent in their aim, their method and their administration, a distinctive and temporary work of the Church. They aim to plant and set in the way to autonomy and self-maintenance the Christian Church in nations where it did not exist. That Church does exist at home. In this effort they use all the agencies and instruments helpful to their purpose, many of which the Church at home no longer needs to use. The work is conceived to be a temporary work. The Christian task at home is as long as time. It will be equally long abroad, but there as at home it will be the work of the indigenous Church and not of a foreign mission. It will be admitted that all this has been true in the

past. The point at issue is as to whether it is still true. Or is the task so far done that the foreign mission distinction is, happily, tenable no longer?

Let us consider first whether it is done so far as its purpose of founding native churches and planting Christianity is concerned, and whether it may not now be discontinued, whether indeed we have any choice in the matter but must be prepared to see the enterprise dwindle and end.

The aim of the foreign missionary is like the doctor's—to make himself unnecessary. If the doctors could succeed in banishing disease, as they are ceaselessly striving to do, they would destroy the necessity for their existence. This is what foreign missions are trying to accomplish. They are not established as permanent agencies of foreign effort and assistance. Their work is to plant Christianity in each nation to which they go, to foster its growth and establishment in the forms which its living principle will naturally take in a new land, and then to withdraw or to pass on and do the same work elsewhere or to change their form. It is not their business to settle themselves as permanent institutions or to assume the responsibility for the work of the Christian Church. They are not the Church. They are simply the founders and helpers of it.

And this does not ignore the wide social implications in the work of foreign missions. It does set first, without any apology whatever, the distinctly evangelistic character of missions. Their primary aim is to spread the knowledge of the Gospel. Some one has recently written rather derisively of the conception of missions as a movement "to give people a piece of information." But fundamentally that is just what

it is. It is the preaching of the good news of Christ. But just because it is that it is a great deal more than verbal information and has been so from the beginning. It is the expression of the love of God in Christ in all the ways in which service and kindness can brighten human life and it is the resolute laying of the law of Christ on all life and relationships. For such reasons foreign missions have been and are now and will continue to be one of the richest forms of social ministry and one of the most powerful forces in human progress. And these duties interlace with the primary evangelistic purpose and introduce new elements of complexity into the problem of the duration of the enterprise.

All this is or ought to be an old and familiar story. And no one ought to be credited as a bold and prophetic innovator who just now discovered it. And no one ought to be alarmed because the question is ever and again asked as to whether foreign missions have done their work and become unnecessary. The question ought to be repeatedly asked. More than that, it ought forever to be kept in mind by all those who are engaged in foreign missionary work so that their methods and ideals may be all fashioned by the truth that foreign missions exist to plant a Church and launch a power, and not to establish themselves as a perpetual institution. Even though this work may be far from complete in any country, it is wholesome to remind them that some day it will be complete and that the sooner they complete it the better.

There are two classes of people, however, from whom this reminder comes rather awkwardly. The first is made up of the men and women who are not supporting the missionary enterprise. What title have

they to advise the cessation of an undertaking that would never have existed if it had depended on them? And the second is the men and women who think that foreign missions are no longer necessary because the Gospel which they were begun to propagate is no longer believed. That Gospel is believed by the men and women who are maintaining the missionary enterprise. It is believed more deeply now than ever before. They are more convinced than ever that the world is a lost world and that only Christ can save it. Professor Bertrand Russell is not a believer in Christ as Saviour, but few Christians could paint as black a picture of a lost and ruined world as he paints. The foreign missionary enterprise cannot take instructions as to its continuance from men who do not believe in its necessity at any time.

But for itself and from its friends the enterprise must daily face the questions: Is this enterprise still necessary? Is its work done? If not, why not? Can it not be done? And even if it is not done and ought still to go on, can it do so under the new conditions which it now confronts? Must it recognize that the height of its development has been reached and that henceforth it must slowly subside?

In considering these questions it is easy to forget what a various and diversified world we are living in. Often good men who know Shanghai and Tokyo argue from their conditions as though they were universal. The missionary enterprise, however, has met very dissimilar conditions and achieved very dissimilar results and uneven progress in different lands. There are strong self-supporting and self-governing churches in some fields, while in others the work has been like chipping granite or writing on water. The Japanese

Church is entirely competent to care for itself and to stand forth in the place of leadership in the Christian cause. So also, and not less, to say the least, is the Korean Church standing on its own feet. The facts are indisputable.

But these two Churches, which are among the most competent and sturdy of all the Churches which have grown out of missionary support and which know their own mind and are accustomed to speak it, are the very Churches which declare most emphatically that the work of foreign missions is not done in these lands. For two reasons. First, there are still great populations in these lands unevangelized which the Churches unassisted cannot reach. Second, there are problems of education and of the application of Christianity to the life of society in which they need and crave help. There is no more independent voice in Japan than Mr. Ebina's. And this is his word with regard to a country where, it is said by some, the people are now ready to dispense with the foreign missionary:

"Japan has begun to drift. Whither is she drifting? How shall we interpret the signs of the times? I firmly believe that Japan's real regeneration depends entirely on the united efforts of Christians, especially the Christians of Japan, America and Great Britain. If Christians lose Japan, it will be an irremediable loss to Christendom.

"I do not ignore the work in China. It is important, just as in any other part of the world. But China is an immense country. The work there is the work of centuries. Here in Japan we have a small but powerful nation, similar to the ancient Greek, or the Jewish nations. She will be converted within half a century, if we are fully prepared to meet her need. If we understood

rightly the real need and situation in Japan, we would not hesitate to advocate a fourfold increase of missionary forces—forces sufficient to make short work of the evangelization of Japan. Then Japan as a converted nation would herself become the vanguard of the missionary forces on the Asiatic continent."

But probably nowadays it is China and India which are in mind when it is said that the days of foreign missions are drawing to a close and that "the people themselves are now to develop and direct their religious undertakings." The Christians of China and India ought to meet with no discouragement or hindrance on the part of foreign missions in this. On the other hand, they cannot move in this direction too fast. But the sad fact is that they are not yet moving fast enough. We rejoice in all the progress that has been made, but it is a mere beginning. Missions stand ready to transfer both educational institutions and evangelistic work to the Chinese and Indian Churches as fast as they are ready to take them over.

Sometimes it is said that the reason they are not ready is that foreign missions have sterilized these Churches, just as the young men of India say that British education has bred a servile and parasitic mind in India. Perhaps there is some truth in this, but if there is, it has been in contradiction of the fundamental principle and true aim of foreign missions. The members of the Christo Samaj in India complain that the Indian Church has not been able to cope with the powers which the Missions wished to transfer to it. But the remedy here obviously is not the withdrawal of foreign missions. Their need has been made only the clearer and likewise the difficulty of their task. For

that task is not only to win people to an institution called the Church but to make that Church real. One of the recent missionary deputations to India sought to describe this need in one section of its report:

"There is one form of educational work which may or may not be done in schools and colleges and which may be done altogether without them. It is the use of life to reproduce and multiply itself in the training of others to do of their own will and through their own opportunities, with the pliability and power and genuineness of true life, the thing that they have been taught. Tested in this way our mission work in India has some glorious results to show. There are Indian men and women who are not imitators or dependents, on the one hand, and who, on the other, do not strike off on independent roads in the willful way which shows that their independence is a spurious thing, a striving to be what they actually are not. They are men and women with a true life of their own, knowing the meaning of prayer and of divine guidance, glad of human friendship and help, but dependent only upon God and seeking to do His will as life's whole duty. It is the strength of our mission work that it has produced so many of these men and women. It is its weakness that it has not produced more. And both the missions and individual missionaries need to study the ways in which they can find and develop free character and spontaneous service in others. First of all it is a matter of individual action, but also we need a great deal more careful attention to the training processes which will fashion the Christian communities and which will make the presbyteries really strong and efficient. Both the individual members and the various organizations of the Church in India should be laid and held under living spiritual responsibility that the lives of Christians and the life of the Church may not be perfunctory and dependent, spent on

questions of privilege or authority, of money or relationships, but real and living and free."

There is more need of foreign missions than ever and in a deeper sense than ever, not to found Western Churches, but to work away at this problem until living, indigenous Churches are actually wrought out.

But, it may be asked, is this not a qualitative work and does it not follow that henceforth foreign missions should be stated in such qualitative terms? Yes, but it was always so. One St. Paul one hundred years ago would have been worth one hundred ordinary men. He would be worth the same number now. But in lieu of him the hundred men were necessary then and are necessary now. For while it is true that in many places new conditions prevail, these are not yet such as to make the missionary one whit less necessary than he was.

The task is still colossal beyond the conception of those who see the whole world in terms only of their own local experience, or of new religious or social problems, or from two thousand miles away. Let such folk go up into the China interior, or travel the caravan routes of western Asia, or the Latin America up-country rivers, or tramp through the villages of India, or confront Islam or southern Buddhism, and they will realize that this is a long and real undertaking and that the world is not going to be evangelized by a revision of formulas. Some day we will end this work, and we do right to watch for that day, but for the present and for a long time the forces must be augmented and the campaign enlarged and the love that is under all deepened and enriched. For after all the unselfishness of the missionary enterprise is as

essential to the life of the Church as to the evangelization of the world. And the Church needs this unselfishness a hundredfold more to-day than ever before.

But some say that the ability of the Churches to give and the willingness of young men and women to go have reached the peak and that henceforth both money and missionaries will dwindle. Now as to our having reached the limit of the Church's ability to give, was there ever a more absurd proposition? The Presbyterian Church does not average two-thirds of a cent a day from each communicant member in its gifts to foreign missions. On the other hand, there are individual congregations which average five or ten cents a day in such gifts. The whole denomination could attain this average. If it gave five cents a day the foreign mission offerings would be $32,850,000. There can be no question as to the Church's ability to multiply its present gifts eightfold, and time will show whether it is willing or not. As to the young men and young women, many factors enter in, such as the character of their homes, the sincerity and love of the Church, the continuance of firm conviction as to the truth of Christianity, the nature of the ideas of the missionary enterprise which are set before them. As yet there is no sign that the supply of missionaries is to fail. If the old romance goes there is new romance to take its place. And the one supreme Master abides, Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day and forever. Foreign missions are simply loyalty to Him and His commission and His cause. The foreign mission enterprise will dwindle and end as its work is done but the only other condition on which it will dwindle and end is the subsidence of the old faith in the Gospel and of the old passion for Christ.

But let us go on to consider some of the still unoccupied fields of need. And first in the matter of the physical suffering of humanity. It is certainly not the business of foreign missions to care for all the suffering of mankind but it is their duty to relieve what suffering they can, both for love's sake alone and also because such love is the best and often the only proclamation of the Love that is life and power for man and for society. And it is their duty to begin in each land those ministries of healing which have ever been a fruit of the Gospel and which once begun will grow and be borne on by other hands than those which introduced them. Now, happily, other agencies both government and private are at work in this field, but it was foreign missions which had to open it and which have still an unfinished work to do.

In helping to raise up a medical profession. Let a few facts tell the tale of still existing need wholly unlike in its depths any need at home. In Persia there are 9,000,000 people. Outside of Teheran and Tabriz there are not fifteen qualified physicians, one to each 500,000 people. A few years ago when a threatened deficit endangered the continuance of the hospital in Meshed it was discovered that westward there was no nearer hospital than Teheran, six hundred miles away; eastward none nearer than Peking, more than three thousand miles; south, none nearer than Peshawar, seven hundred miles; and northward none at all. In Korea at the time of Japanese annexation there were thirty-six doctors for 12,000,000 people. It is far better now. But in China even still with all that has been done, there are only 1,500 qualified physicians for 400,000,000 and these are in a few cities. In India eighty per cent. of a population of 320,000,000 live in

villages while eighty-five per cent. of the doctors live in cities. And these conditions are nearer than Asia. In South America, Chile is, perhaps, the land best supplied with doctors and it has 792 of whom a score or so are women, or one to every 4,739 people. In Bolivia there are 178 doctors, one to 20,000 people, and even in La Paz there are only thirty doctors of whom some are not in practice, for a population of 125,207. There are vast areas of South America with no doctors available at all and among the five or ten million Indians it is the sad fact that nothing is done. Over against these conditions is the fact of one doctor to every seven hundred of the population in the United States according to the Census of 1920. If there is not a distinction here, where can one be found?

In the work of sanitation and hygiene and preventive medicine. Ex-president Eliot of Harvard set forth this waiting work in his report on China and Japan to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace entitled "Some Roads Towards Peace," in 1912:

"To increase industrial efficiency and steady productiveness throughout the Oriental countries, it is indispensable that the practice of Western medicine and surgery and of public sanitation should be everywhere introduced. The working efficiency of some of the populations is now diminished to a formidable degree by the chronic prevalence among them of preventable and curable diseases, and by the occasional destructive pestilences which sweep unchecked through the Oriental communities, and kill many thousands of men, women, and children before their time. In southern India and many other parts of the East the hookworm disease presses heavily on the agricultural population; but government makes little or no effort either

to cure the present victims, or to prevent the continuous development of this disease. Only in Japan is effective resistance made to the always recurring pestilences; and even there tuberculosis, leprosy, and other ever-present diseases go imperfectly controlled. Whether we look at disease and premature death as sources of heavy industrial losses, or as preventable causes of grievous human suffering, we find the gift of Western medicine and surgery to the Oriental populations to be one of the most precious things that Western civilization can do for the East. To spread through the East the knowledge of Western medicine and sanitation by building and conducting good hospitals, dispensaries, and laboratories for medical diagnosis, establishing boards of health, and providing defenses against plague, cholera, smallpox, and tuberculosis, is the surest way to persuade intelligent people in the East that they may expect much good from the inductive philosophy of the West acting in combination with the Christian religion in its simplest forms. There is no better subject than medicine in which to teach the universal inductive method. . . .

"Not only have the people of China been subject to terrible occasional pestilences, against which they have had no defense, but they have also been subject to the ravages of the ordinary contagious diseases known in Europe and America, and to other tropical or semi-tropical diseases which rarely occur in the more temperate regions of Western civilization. They have had no knowledge of the practice of scientific medicine, and no knowledge of surgery in the modern sense. The Chinese physician uses various drugs and medicaments compounded of strange materials, employs charms and incantations, and claims occult powers, and he is always willing to puncture any gathering on the human body which seems capable of yielding a liquid to the hollow needle; but of scientific diagnosis, major surgery, anesthesia, and asepsis he knows nothing. He is not acquainted

with any of the optical, acoustical, and electrical apparatus which the Western physician uses; and he possesses none of the modern chemical and bacteriological means of diagnosis. Hence the treatment of disease in the mass of the Chinese population is ignorant, superstitious, and almost completely ineffectual. The tea-drinking habit of the people has secured them in good measure from the dangers of drinking infected water; and the fact that nearly every mother nurses her baby has protected infants from the dangers which attend the Western use of cow's milk for babies. Tuberculosis is terribly destructive throughout China; and the family habit of sleeping all together in a single small room, with every aperture tightly closed to keep out imps and demons, spreads the disease.

"Here, then, is a great gift that the West can make to China—scientific medicine and surgery. Of late years the various missionary boards domiciled in Western countries have turned their attention to medical missionary work in China, and have begun to commend Christianity to the Chinese through the beneficent ministries of hospitals and infirmaries. Unfortunately, the missionary boards at home have not appreciated in general the cost of such establishments, or the amount of knowledge and skill which an isolated medical practitioner in China needs to have at his fingers' ends. Accordingly, the missionary medical services have not yielded the fruits which might have been expected of them. During my stay in China I paid special attention to the missionary hospitals and infirmaries; but never saw one which did not urgently need more physicians and surgeons, more nurses, and more expenditure for service and supplies. The devotion of the missionaries in this field was admirable; but their resources were always inadequate, and they were often unable to meet fully urgent demands on their skill and benevolence. Under such conditions both men and women are overworked, deteriorate in their own technique, and become callous to the disastrous conditions

under which they are compelled to treat their patients. Any Western organization which desires to promote friendly intercourse with an Oriental people can do nothing better than contribute to the introduction of Western medicine, surgery, and sanitation into China. The field for such beneficent work is immense, the obstacles to be overcome are serious but not insuperable, and the reward in the future comparative well-being of the Chinese is sure. The Chinese people are too intelligent not to trace practical beneficence to its spiritual sources, and to draw all the just inferences."

Sir John Hewett, when Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces in India, a few years ago, supplied one of ten thousand illustrations of the conditions and needs described by President Eliot:

"Speaking generally, the death rate recorded in the province in recent years, both in urban and in rural tracts, is nearly three times as high as in England and in Wales. It is estimated that in India nearly one out of every ten of the population is constantly sick, and a person who has escaped the diseases and dangers of childhood and youth, and entered into manhood or womanhood, has an expectation that his or her life will extend to only sixty-eight per cent. of the time that a person similarly situated may be expected to live in England. . . . Infantile mortality is nearly twice as great as it is in England. . . . It is lamentable that one out of every four children born should die before he or she has completed a year of life. . . . The average number of persons per house (which frequently consists of two rooms, or even of only one) is 5.3 in important cities and 5.5 in the rest of the country. It is estimated that the average superficial area per head of the population is something like ten square feet, and the breathing space—

one hundred and fifty cubic feet—just half what is required in common lodging houses in England."

At the Regional Christian Conference in Santiago, Chile, in 1925, a devoted woman who has poured out a long life for the women and children of Chile, said:

"We live in a land of lofty mountains whose snows are glittering white in their purity. And of deep dark valleys with treacherous sides.

"We live in a country whose climate is wonderful beyond compare,—whose people are of a strong and sturdy stock,—but whose population is decimated by plagues and disease.

"We live in a country that has the highest birth rate in the world but alongside stands the awful spectre of the highest infant mortality.

"We live in a land whose cities have finely equipped hospitals and whose doctors stand high in their profession, but where the people of the villages are at the mercy of charlatans.

"We have the carefully cared for mother with nurses and doctors and every comfort that money can buy. We have the poor woman with neither nurse or doctor, nor a bed to lie upon. The following will explain this statement:

"A few years ago the wife of the Governor of Valparaiso visited the maternity hospital of that city and published a description of what she saw, in one of the daily papers.

"She said that every bed in the free ward was occupied. At one bed there was a woman sitting at one end who had just been delivered of a child, at the other end a woman waiting until the bed which was occupied by a woman in labour should be available for her. The Governor's wife made an appeal to the public and more beds were added.

"To one of the Mission Dispensaries, a woman took her baby with its navel in a very bad condition. She was asked if she had had her confinement in a maternity hospital. Her answer was 'No.' Then in reply to the surprised look of the missionary, she said, 'I had no one with me, but my little girl of eight, who passed me a basin of warm water.'

"There are large families of healthy, happy children, and there are mothers who bear children only to bury them. Ignorance, poverty, alcoholism and the dreadful scourge of venereal disease, all have their part in putting out the little flame of life. I knew a woman, who used to have a fine robust baby in a box by her side as she washed. One day, missing the baby, I asked for it. 'It died,' was her answer. 'What was the matter?' 'It had an attack.' 'Is it the first child that you have lost?' 'No, eight have died.'

"We live in a land of splendid universities but where the law of compulsory education cannot be enforced for lack of buildings and teachers.

"We live in a land where children by thousands are gathered into asylums; offsprings of illegitimacy. But who goes to hamlet and tenement to teach the girls to guard their honour?

"We live in a land where vice is made easy for the man, but where the woman who is a mother but cannot call herself a wife, is abandoned or cared for at the caprice of the father of her child.

"We live in a land of fabulous wealth and abject poverty. In the Nitrate deserts of the north, in the waving wheat fields of the south, in the underground treasure house of mines, are the mighty masters of industry, who often in a few years have amassed fortunes from the heart blood of their workmen.

"We live in a land where the idle rich are like their kind the world around and women and children of the poor are victims of greed.

"We live in a land where there is true patriotism and love to fellow-man, but where the odds are so great against these apostles of better things that their figures stand out like the Christ of the Andes, Solitary and Alone.

"The 'hacendado' says, 'If I give decent houses to my workmen, they will still live like pigs and spend their wages in drink.' Has any one taught them better, and does not he himself make and sell to them the wine and spirits that they drink?

"The doctor says that if I tell a woman in a tenement to give her sick child a hot bath, she will not do it. Perhaps she cannot. To illustrate this, the following case might be cited of a mother in a Mission Dispensary. When handed her baby, just bathed, and sweet and clean and in fresh clothing, the nurse said, 'Now you bathe your baby yourself every day. You can use your "bates"' (a wooden trough used for washing). 'But I have none, Senora.' 'Then use your wash basin.' 'I have not that either.' 'Get a paraffin tin and cut it lengthwise.' 'Yes, but that costs money.'

"Many of the babies die at time of weaning. The mother gives the child the breast, just as long as there is a drop. That does not cost money. Then the child is given just whatever there is, bread, black coffee, beans, etc., not always because the mother knows no better but because there is no money to buy anything else. But why is there no money? It is an awful circle. The man drinks because he is poor and sick, and he is poor and sick because he drinks. The family lives in a squalid room because they can pay for no better. The father drinks to drown his misery. The mother is hopeless and does not try to make things better. The children who manage to live, early learn to fend for themselves and so begins another circle."

I heard Dr. Chargas say in Rio that that beautiful city had the highest tuberculosis rate of any great city

in the world and in Chile Dr. Peña has prepared a mortality chart showing a death rate of nearly three times that of the United States, and of that death rate, he says, twenty-four per cent. is due to syphilis and twenty per cent. to tuberculosis. There is a huge holocaust of life waste each year that might be saved and for which, in spite of Professor East, there is abundant work and food.

There is the still unoccupied field of the unfortunate and hopeless classes. There are 100,000 blind in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in India, alone, for whom there is nothing but one small and worthless set of hovels in Allahabad. There are lepers in South America with as yet only one effort of relief. No one reached a hand to the lepers of Siam until Dr. McKean began to gather them to the refuge at Chieng Mai, where he has now 280 lepers in a model institution, with such a spirit of love and hope and contentment among them as only the Christian Gospel can supply. The little blind girls of the Flower Boat brothels of Canton went uncared for until Dr. Niles took them in and Dr. Kerr's institution was the first asylum for the insane of China. Need is need the world around but the magnitude of the unmet want of these unfortunate and suffering peoples is a distinct and undeniable thing.

If we turn from this field to that of education it is equally clear that our foreign mission task is not yet done and that it presents to us a genuinely distinctive need. At home there is need enough in the field of Christian education, but we are putting annually a million dollars into equipment and endowment in our Christian colleges and schools in America where we are not putting a thousand into the Christian schools

and colleges which are needed on the foreign field. The leveling principle that there is no distinction between the home and foreign field would work with strange effect in Christian education. But that is an unsound principle. Our Churches here do not have the same duty towards education in China or South America which they have at home, but they have a far greater duty than they are discharging. We have not founded for the Churches and missions of Spanish South America a single institution above a high school and in many countries we have not done even this. We have set the beginnings of good institutions, of colleges and universities, in other lands but they are struggling for their life. A chapel at one of our American universities is costing more than two full Christian universities in China have received. Compare the educational situation in only a few other countries with our own. Some years ago I made a study of comparative educational statistics in South America and in the United States. Let me state some of the results as of that date. The Argentine is one of the most intelligent and advanced countries in South America. Compare it for a moment with the state of New York, which is just about equivalent to it in population. In the Argentine there were 15,000 school teachers; in the state of New York there were 40,000. In the Argentine there were 550,000 pupils in the schools; in the state of New York there were 1,400,000. With the same population there were three times as many students in the schools in the state of New York as there were in the whole of the Argentine, and the average illiteracy of the state of New York is five per cent. and the average illiteracy of the Argentine Republic is fifty per cent.

Or compare, once again, the republic of Bolivia with the state of Minnesota. The population is about the same. The conglomerate conditions of the population are not unlike. There is just about as large an immigrant population in Minnesota as there is an Indian population in Bolivia. Compare the educational situation of the two states; eighty per cent. of illiteracy in Bolivia, four per cent. of illiteracy in the state of Minnesota; 1,300 teachers in Bolivia, 14,000 teachers in Minnesota; 50,000 pupils in Bolivia; 438,000 in the state of Minnesota. Or compare the republic of Venezuela with the state of Iowa, two sections of about the same population; 1,700 teachers in Venezuela, 30,000 teachers in Iowa; 36,000 pupils in the whole republic of Venezuela, and 562,000 in the one state of Iowa. Kansas has a population of 1,500,000 in round numbers. The six republics of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay combined have a population of 12,000,000 or eight times that of Kansas. Yet Kansas had 11,258 school teachers or about 2,000 more than all these six republics and had just about the same number of children in school. Kansas has one-fourth of her population in school. These republics have one-thirtieth of theirs. If it is said that we have been picking out the darkest sections of South America and contrasting them with the brightest sections of the United States, one could reply that Argentina is one of the brightest parts of South America. But let us take, on the same level, New Mexico and Paraguay. New Mexico has only two-thirds of the population of Paraguay. It had ten per cent. more pupils in its schools and twenty per cent. more public school teachers.

Consider, further, the money spent on educational

systems here and there. The tuition fees for Columbia University for one year have amounted to more than the whole sum which the Chilean government was spending in its budget on the education of three and a quarter million people. The income of Cornell University for four months expended on the work of the university has been larger than the expenditure of the Peruvian government on the education of three and a half million people for a whole year. Yale University represents annually twice the educational outlay of Venezuela. The school revenues of the state of Minnesota alone for the fiscal year 1910–11, for example, were $14,318,528, far more than all the west coast republics combined spent on education and twice the amount expended by Argentina. The education budget of New York City for 1912, amounting to $30,379,000, exceeded the combined education budgets of all the South American republics. The contrast is even greater to-day. Not one South American republic with all its wealth and ample time for development has an educational system as efficient as that which the United States had built up in the Philippines in ten years.

Or pass by the tedium of detailed illustration and consider the total educational effort of the whole continent. All South America together has just about the population of Japan. In South America there were 43,000 school teachers; in Japan there were 133,000. In all South America there were two million pupils in the schools; in Japan there were six millions. In other words, comparing Japan with the whole of South America, there were three times as many teachers and three times as many pupils in its schools as in all the republics of South America com-

bined. These were the facts ten years ago. Since then South America has made great progress but the progress in the United States has been greater still. It is not our duty to educate all other nations. Nor is it the duty of the Christian Church in the United States to provide all the educational institutions which the Churches of other lands, especially of those where we are carrying on our foreign mission work, will need. But we are far nearer to meeting our own needs than we are to fulfilling what actual duty we owe them. Our unfulfilled obligations there are so enormous that it is preposterous to deny any distinction between these and our obligations at home. It is not a distinction, let me repeat, which binds us to do for these other countries and Churches the same amount that we are doing at home, but it is a distinction which forbids such a discrepancy as we face to-day.

Let us return to consider the unfinished evangelistic task and let us take for a first illustration one of the situations nearest to us, as described in the Report on Unoccupied Fields presented to the Congress on Christian Work in South America, held in Montevideo, March 29 to April 8, 1925. The Report describes what it calls a "continent within a continent." These are its words:

"That an immense interior territory of solid extent, embracing the hinterlands of many countries, lies almost wholly outside the present spheres of Evangelical activity, has long been known in a general way. But, since knowledge of the fact has led to no concerted action or plan of occupation by Boards and Churches, it is fitting to throw again into relief for constructive consideration, the magnitude of this neglected expanse and the nature and scope

of its claim upon the future disposition of Christian forces. The mere tracing of its boundaries should suffice to indicate how colossal is the unaccomplished task of penetrating the whole continent with the Gospel of Christ, of extending Christian service to lone, scarcely-discovered regions far from the highways of road and river travel, to crude Indian tribes in dense tropical forests, on mountain slopes, or on the verge of the desert,—of planting, in sparsely-peopled, pioneer lands, preparatory Christian foundations for greater populations yet to come.

"The configuration of the area in question, would, with comparatively slight irregularities, resemble that of South America itself. It is indeed a continent within a continent. The northern curve of a line enclosing it, beginning at the Equator on the Andean plateau, would include (1) Ecuador above Quito, from the central mountains to the Colombian divide; (2) all of Colombia, south of Cali and Bogota and east of the Cordillera Oriental, with an upward dip into the Cordillera Central, and the Cauca Valley to the border of Antiochia; (3) Venezuela, south of the Caribbean States, about nine-tenths of the whole republic; (4) British and Dutch Guiana, except a coast strip of about forty miles; (5) all of French Guiana. Continuing eastward and southward the curve would embrace (6) all of Brazil, except maritime sections of the northern states from Para to Rio Grande do Norte, the eastern and southern coast states from Parahyba to central Bahia, and from the lower two-thirds of Minas Geraes to Rio Grande do Sul; (7) all of Uruguay, except its southern departments and a short fringe of territory along its western river; (8) the interfluvial Argentine region west of the Uruguay River; (9) large sections of central and western Argentine, from the Bolivian Chaco to the Territory of the Pampas, and almost the whole of the Patagonian peninsula from Rio Negro to the Strait of Magellan. Turning northward on the western side, the line would enclose roughly (10)

the eastern half of Chile, with several curves west of the Andes; (11) the eastern half and the northern departments of Peru, with immense loops to the Pacific Coast in the central and southern zones; (12) and, finally, the southern half and eastern two-thirds of Ecuador, in addition to the section above the Equator; (13) Bolivia, and (14) Paraguay, being inland republics, are necessarily included within the border drawn.

"Of the whole region thus delimited the following points may be noted:

"(*a*) *Its immense geographical extent:*—Its imaginary border has encompassed an immense area of approximately 6,000,000 square miles—about four-fifths of the entire continent. In the wide ranges of it that are vitally untouched by Christian agencies, and the fewness of the Evangelical centers within its bounds, it offers the chief challenge of unoccupied South America.

"Comparison may illustrate. At the Edinburgh Conference, whose purview was restricted to Asia, Africa and the pagan world (Latin America proper being excluded), the two largest known areas neglected by Protestant missions and described as 'the heart of two continents,' were presented and discussed with amazement because of their enormous extent. They were vast, contiguous, unevangelized regions in Central Asia and Africa. The Asian area, stretching east to west from Manchuria across Mongolia to Khiva and Kabul, and north to south from Trans-Baikalia to Bhutan, covers 2,891,340 square miles. This South American region is more than twice as large. The 'heart of Africa' region (excluding the uninhabited Sahara) extends from the Morocco-Algerian Plateau, down the hinterlands of the west coast into the vast Congo countries thence to Portuguese East Africa and north to the Gulf of Aden. Its area is about 5,000,000 square miles. Our South American section transcends it by 1,000,000 square miles. The 'continent within a continent' equals more than a third of all Asia, more

than half of all Africa. It constitutes for Evangelical Christianity from the territorial viewpoint, not only the premier field in South America, but the largest geographical expanse of unworked territory to be found on the face of the earth.

"(*b*) *Its sparse Evangelical occupancy*:—The number of Evangelical centers in the entire region is eighty-four. These include all the Mission stations of Bolivia and Paraguay, and twenty-five centers within the enclosed portion of Argentina. Deducting the local areas which may normally be supposed to be influenced from each of the eighty-four centers, the extent of untouched territory remains at approximately 5,911,600 square miles. The meager mission groups are disproportionately distributed and are separated, for the most part, by immense distances. If a corresponding placement of localities were laid over North America the five uppermost stations, in the area considered, would lie along a line of 600 miles east of the Yukon in northern Canada; the next two would be about 700 miles southwest in British Columbia; to these the nearest station eastward would be more than 1,300 miles distant on the western shore of Hudson Bay, beyond which, 700 miles northeast, the next lone center would fall; 1,000 miles southeast and southwest of the point on Hudson Bay, but more than 1,200 miles apart, two other centers would touch southern Ontario and Minnesota; a 'cluster' of seven stations would be scattered over Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky; another of fourteen would fall in Kansas and Nebraska; the remainder of the eighty-four would be scattered through the southern states and down through Mexico to the border of Honduras, some 2,000 miles.

"A line can be drawn from Caracas, Venezuela, southward through Brazil, Bolivia and Argentina to Tierra del Fuego (4,200 miles) without traversing a Protestant mission station. The same is possible west to east from Guayaquil to Pernambuco (2,860 miles) or, diagonally

from Valparaiso to Paramaribo (2,800 miles), from Popayan to Asuncion (2,250 miles) or even from Bogota to Buenos Aires (2,800 miles).

"(*c*) *Its natural characteristics:*—The natural aspects of this vast area are, in range and variety, practically those of South America as a whole. It has every type of climate, scenery and product characteristic of the Tropics, Sub-Tropics and the South Temperate Zone. In the north are the densely wooded Guiana highlands, broken by steaming savannas and extending into eastern Venezuela. Here the tableland descends into the broad Llanos of the Orinoco Valley, the Colombian hinterland and the Ecuadorean Oriente—an illimitable wilderness of grass-covered plains, seamed by forest-lined rivers and sloping up to the cordilleras. The west is flanked from the Caribbean to the tip of Patagonia by the mighty Andes with triple, double and solitary chain; the east is bounded by the lesser sierras of the Brazilian coastland from Ceara to Uruguay. The northern plains and plateaus merge into the equatorial selvas—the world's largest expanse of tropical forest—watered by the Amazon and its tributaries offering 50,000 miles of fluvial navigation. This sea-level forest, luxuriant and almost impenetrable, extends westward to the Peruvian pampas and southward over the highlands of Matto Grosso—'great woods'—to the cactus and banana zones of eastern Bolivia and the marshes of Xayares. South of this lies another distinct region—the undulating, richly-timbered plains of Paraguay and of the Parana-Uruguay Valley, spreading westward into the vast level expanse known as the Chaco. Including western Paraguay, part of the Bolivian Chuquisaca, and northeastern Argentina, the Chaco is an alternation of arid prairie, fertile agricultural land and forests of quebracho and other valuable hardwoods. Then follows the antithesis of the Amazonian jungle, the immense treeless grain-fields and pasture-lands of the Argentina Pampas stretching in 'green and brown ter-

races from the sea to the Andes,' and bounded southward only by the desert.

"(*d*) *Its distribution of population*:—The total population enclosed within the area delimited is approximately 30,000,000, about half the continental inhabitants. A careful and very conservative estimate of the proportion absolutely unreached in and from the eighty-four Evangelical centers which dot its enormous distances, is 25,680,000. These estimates include, as the major factor, considerable blocks of population in proximity to the coastal and temperate regions regarded as occupied; it is the sparse settlements of the far interior which, while constituting the minor numerical factor, offer the principal problem in accessibility. Quite naturally thus far have Protestant missions sought out the chief centers of population on the rim of the Continent. They have 'hugged the coast' much more exclusively than have Catholic Missions, early or modern.

"Plans for occupying the interior must necessarily take account of the following facts: (1) Large sections of it are entirely uninhabited, *e. g.*, (*a*) the region north of the lower Amazon known as the Brazilian Guiana, between the Rio Negro and the Atlantic (except a few small settlements on the coast and on minor rivers, like the Pary and the Jary); (*b*) immense spaces (some of which are unexplored) extending south of the Amazon, between its great tributaries from the Tocantins to the Ucayali; (*c*) the wilderness and marshy region between the upper Paraguay and Pilcomayo Rivers; (*d*) desert and mountain areas between Bolivia, Chile and northwestern Argentina, and in Patagonia. (2) Other sections are very sparsely inhabited—not more than one or two per square mile, over vast areas administratively regarded as inhabitable and attracting population. These are in general the mining, grazing, rubber-bearing and agricultural hinterlands of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, northwestern Brazil, and the better-known frontiers of the

La Plata republics. (3) The first call of the interior is from the natural trails of colonization and indigenous dwelling, where the present population is chiefly found, viz., (*a*) the great river valleys like the Amazon system, whose riparian towns and outposts, from 50 to 400 miles apart, range from Para to Peruvian Iquitos (2,300 miles), and down the Madeira-Beni to Riberalta in Bolivia (1,500 miles); (*b*) new agricultural regions like Goyaz and Matto Grosso, now being developed, and the plains of Argentina attracting foreign as well as indigenous settlement; (*c*) remote districts inhabited by Indians, and industrial centers of mining, sugar-making, stock-raising, meat-packing growing up from Paraguay to Colombia. (4) Much of this territory may be compared with the great prairie and frontier regions of the United States and Canada, in the days when the push of population westward preceded and outdistanced the movement of the Churches. (5) Beyond the eastern tier of Brazilian states, 100 miles or more west of the nearest missions, and in the unevangelized hinterlands and inner frontier territories of the other countries, the 'remote from the coast' population which may fairly be regarded as distinctly 'interior,' and the legitimate objective of 'pioneer work,' is approximately 6,000,000, of whom about 1,000,000 are located along the Amazon and its affluents.

"(*e*) *Other religious agencies within the area:*—The Roman Catholic Church has ecclesiastically mapped the entire region and divided it into archbishoprics, bishoprics, apostolic vicariates, apostolic prefectures, and missions. State-Church prestige is still a factor in its influence, although religious toleration, including freedom of worship and of Christian work, is legally recognized in all the republics—with some reservations in Colombia. The Church is institutionally strong in the coast regions and in the larger interior cities. Even at Boa Vista, far up the Rio Branco, near the border of British Guiana; at

San Luis, on the headwaters of the Paraguay; on the Brazilward llanos of Colombia; at San Rafael, at the extreme end of Chilean Tierra del Fuego, it is established. But, there are vast rural populations, unnumbered small towns and villages, and Indian districts to which it does not minister.

"In the large centers its function as a spiritual force is increasingly limited by the alienation of the cultured classes. After four centuries of labour it still regards the interior as a mission field. The Franciscans among the fierce Tobas of the Gran Chaco, the Salesians among the head-hunting Jivaros of Ecuador and the intractable Bororos of Matto Grosso, the Augustinians in the Colombian Casanare, are doing heroic work in the spirit of the early apostolates, when Catholic Missions were in their golden bloom under leaders like Medrano, Beltran, Solano, Montoyo, Claver, Las Casas and other illustrious pioneers.

"The other religious factor within the area is not an 'agency,' since it has no propaganda. It is rather a survival. It is the primitive pagan cults of the Indians, which prevail in scattered districts over a central territory two-thirds as large as the United States. In addition to the unmodified animism, which has never been reached by either Catholic or Protestant missions, is the mixed paganism of many tribes, of which the following recent observation of the Spanish writer Vicente Belasco Ibañez, regarding the 'Coyas' of Jujuy in northern Argentina is typically descriptive: 'The missionaries of the conquest evangelized these natives whose intellectual mildness opposed no obstacles to the new dogma; but they all fused more or less with Christianity the old gods of the country. The Indian of Jujuy (Jujeno), known in the whole republic as "Coya," prays to the saints for whom he has great veneration; attends the ancient chapels which are preserved in certain valleys of La Puna; he takes part in the village processions; but at the same time he believes

in Pacha-Mama and other gods which represent the forces of nature.'

"(*f*) *A challenge to Evangelical Churches:*—Only in a few instances, chiefly in independent and 'free lance' movements, has Evangelical Christendom up to the present, shown the sacrificial enterprise to plunge into these remote regions where God's neglected children wait in all their primitive, naked need. Can the Mission Boards, or the National Churches in the countries concerned, longer escape the historic rebuke and stimulus of the Mediæval Church, which, stopping not at the frontiers, lit its altars, although with dim and temporary fires, in the farthest settlements of the great unknown?"

This is too vast an illustration. Let us take one more concrete. It is no fanciful picture but a personal experience of our own of real life in southern China:

A network of yellow streams, narrowing and broadening, winding in every direction over the wide plain; low fields bounded by them, some flooded, some half covered with the water, but green with the tender freshness of the young rice-plants, some barely raised above the water's reach, and verdant with the low-cropped mulberry bushes which feed the silkworms of one of the finest silk districts in China; boats of all sorts passing to and fro, large two-story passage boats like two sets of pigeonholes, one above the other, and each hole full of Chinese passengers, packed in like chickens in a crate, and all dressed in monotonous blue; small house boats with roofs of bamboo or palmetto leaf, with the family babies leaning over the side, the family pig wiggling his curly tail on the prow, and the family poultry in a cage at the stern; farmers' boats bound to and from the rice-fields with young plants ready for transplanting, or with loads of dead grass for fuel; and now a light skiff drawn by a

buffalo wading or swimming in the stream, with only his homely face above water, a small boy driving him with a rope; guard-boats full of the sort of soldiers who were of use some centuries ago, but whose pikes are children's weapons now, with an old cannon mounted in a conspicuous place to give the impression that its custodians think it could go off; men and women in the wet fields, preparing the ground for the rice with great hoes, or plowing or harrowing with buffaloes, or setting the rice-plants, knee deep often in the loam, children scraping the river bottoms for shell-fish, or gathering greens; the whole country so flat that the sails of the boats in the myriad streams seem to spring from the ground, while great mountains yet loom up misty and blue in the distance,—these were a few of the many and fascinating sights which we glided past as we sat on the roof of a hotau boat,—a clumsy sort of house boat,—and were towed by one of the pigeon-holed passage boats, which in turn was towed by a little Chinese steam-tug, southward from Canton into the region known as "The Four Districts."

The Four Districts constitute one of the most populous and prosperous sections of the Kwang Tung Province, China, which in its turn is one of the most prosperous provinces of the Empire. Villages are as close together as are the separate farmhouses even of a thickly settled Pennsylvania county, and large cities lie abundantly in the midst of the villages. Here and there the pawn-houses stand out conspicuously, testifying to the Chinaman's anticipation of the latest civilization and to the density of the population. For the pawn-house is in the nature of a storage warehouse, in which winter clothes are stored for the summer, and summer clothes for the winter, individual houses being open and without means of protecting or preserving things of value. And each pawn-house represents at least ten thousand people. They are the highest and best buildings in the landscape, with solid walls, windows too small for entrance, iron prongs protruding

from the roof, and heaps of stones ready there to be cast on the heads of assailants.

The villages in The Four Districts are well constructed, of a fine quality of bricks of a drab colour, and of tile roofing. A Chinese village here is the embodiment of the Chinese character. Its superstition is seen in the selection of the village site, which must be such as to secure for the village immunity from the influences of evil spirits, whose coming must be impeded by a proper surrounding configuration of the country, which also must be such as to secure and retain the good influences that geomancy finds in the right relation of hills, supporting the village behind and in slopes of the land, and winding streams in front. Its stolidity and solidity are expressed in the dull and sturdy styles of architecture, while its clannishness and exclusiveness are adequately represented in the inhospitable and uninviting aspect of the village exterior. If two rivers join near the village, a pagoda will probably be found at their junction to prevent the outflow of the good influences which are associated with streams. Usually the pagoda takes the form of a scholar's pencil and may contain an image of the god of letters, so that literary blessings may be brought to the place, and some of the village scholars win scholar's degrees. Where such degrees have been won, poles are erected in honour of the winner before the village ancestral temple, and his glory falls upon his house and his clan.

Almost all of the Chinese who emigrate to other countries go from The Four Districts. The Cantonese are proverbially the shrewdest and the most enterprising business men of China. The northern Chinese are afraid of the canny competition of the Cantonese, just as American labour was with good reason afraid of the conflict with Cantonese coolie labour in the United States. The Chinese who go to other countries come back and invest their money here. Many of the new, well-built villages represent their earnings, and as we walked from one to

another we often met their cheerful greetings. "Hello, missionaries! where you go?" asked one old man who was leading a little girl along a narrow path—but all the roads down here are paths, and the paths are narrow. To our answer and return inquiry, he said, in his curious English, "I go walk with my little girl. I been two, three times to Californy. I go again soon. No, I not take little girl. Too rough, seasick; and then bad people. How you feel? Good-bye."

Some of these men come back with an evil report of Christianity. Can we blame them? What did they see? Others come back with the new life in their hearts, and build chapels, support preachers, establish schools and preach Christ. One of these told me of his opening a school in his village. There was great opposition, and the men came to him, and said, as he expressed quaintly, "You open school, we hit it with stones. Yes, we put the rock on it." But they did not, for it was on the Rock that he had put the school.

In this great field the English Wesleyans, the Southern Baptists and the American Board, have a few chapels, but most of the work has been established and is carried on by the American Presbyterians. The missionary in charge of the field when I visited it some years ago seemed to have a limited vocabulary of gloomy words. I could not discover that he knew at all the meaning of the word "retreat" or "discouragement." When driven out of a place he has gone back, bided his time, and in due season got the work established. And he persisted in a wholesome, invigorating cheeriness in never seeing the discouraging things, or in seeing them only to see over them the promised help of One of whom it is said, "He shall not fail nor be discouraged."

Together we climbed up the two highest mountains in the field, and looked over the land. It was the season for worshipping the graves. The familiar Chinese idea is that there are three souls, or that the one soul becomes

triple at death, and that when a man dies, one soul goes into the other world, one goes into the ancestral tablet, and one into the grave. There must accordingly be a triple worship,—of the spirits of the other world who have control over the soul that has gone to them, and of the soul in the tablet, and of the soul in the grave. The popular notions of geomancy make the selection of sites for burial a matter of vital importance. A wrong site may doom the posterity to barrenness of literary and military honours, and to misery and poverty. The proper sites are in the hills. On these two mountains, accordingly, the hundreds of graves showed the marks of filial worship.

As we climbed one of the hills, the sons of the dead were engaged in their act of devotion. The little amphitheater cut in the hillside, in the middle of which was the grave, had been cleaned and put in order. A fresh sod had been cut and laid reversed upon the grave, which was decorated also with some little tinseled figures of red paper. Before the grave, which looked off across the wide plain, the men stood, and spread the food of their offering,—a bowl of boiled pork, a bowl of rice, and some vermicelli. In front of these they put five little cups and five sets of chopsticks. The odour of the viands was supposed to rise to the spirit in the grave and refresh it. The real viands were then eaten with great relish by the worshippers. This makes the worship of the tombs a sort of picnic. Beside the grave the worshippers were burning a bundle of paper, supposed to represent money. How would a spirit know the difference? The fire turned this to spirit money, and so gave the deceased a supply for the coming year.

It was a relief to turn away from this and to breathe the clear, unsuperstitious air which blew over the mountain tops. But what a vision it was from them! From A sai shan, or West Mountain, we looked down on range after range of hills, covered with graves, made

conspicuous by their paper adornments, and out over reach after reach of level plain, dotted with villages and cities. San Ning with fifty thousand people lay just below us. There was a beautiful chapel there, built largely by money given by Chinese Christians in California, and there were half a dozen or more chapels of our own and other missions in other places within sight. But they were as nothing. I tried to count the villages. To the south there were four hundred and seventy-five, and to the north three hundred and fourteen; and the mists hung about the distant hills, hiding other towns from sight. Hundreds of thousands of souls, possibly millions, were in sight from that hill; and there was at work for them a smaller evangelistic agency than can be found in scores of towns of less than two thousand population that could be named in Pennsylvania.

On the very summit of A sai shan was a grave, and on the grave lay a dead man. I stood beside him and looked down. He had not been there many days. His pipe and flint box lay in his hand and his face was turned up to the sky. Perhaps he had gone there to worship, and, as he worshipped the spirits of his fathers, his own spirit had gone to join theirs. Very still and quiet he lay. He was beyond speech, beyond the sense of earthly need. What he knew, I knew not. And I lifted my eyes, and looked out over the seven hundred and eighty-nine villages of the plain. Very still and quiet they lay. They were beyond speech, beyond the sense of spiritual need. What they knew not I knew. The dead man lay on the lonely grave on the hill. And the shadow of the death of a Christless life hung over the villages of the plain. The man on the hill was beyond help. The men on the plain wait for it. How long will they wait? "How long, O Lord! How long?" cries the Church. "How long, O Church! How long?" answers the Lord.

But, it may be said, it is not the duty of the American Churches to assume the full responsibility for

evangelizing these great unnumbered areas and populations. This is true. It is indeed not our responsibility. Those who can see no distinction between home and foreign missions could not escape this responsibility. But there is a distinction. The Churches in the United States are not responsible for evangelizing all the unevangelized people of South America or China in the same sense that they are responsible for evangelizing the people of the United States any more than the people of the United States are responsible for paying the just taxes of the citizens of South America or China. What we are responsible for is the establishment of native Churches in all these lands by whom and through whom, with whatever help it may be found to be our duty to give them, all the people can be and will be evangelized. The point here argued is that this has not yet been adequately done. Such Churches do exist in the United States. They do not yet exist in any other land. This is a distinction that ought to be apparent. So long as it exists and in order that it may as soon as possible cease to exist, foreign missions are required as a distinct enterprise of the Church.

But, it may be still further contended, as we have already noted, that these Churches do exist and that they do not any longer need our help in the way that has hitherto justified foreign missions. Now, thank God, these Churches have come into existence and in all lands they are a great glory and joy, and in some they have come to be a great power, and the work of leadership in evangelization at last is passing or will soon pass into their hands. It cannot pass too soon. But it has not passed yet, and they are eager to have us realize this, and not think that the

day of foreign missions is as yet over. One of their ablest leaders, Mr. Kanakarayan T. Paul of India, recently stated the situation as regards India, where in numbers and maturity, even if not in self-support, the Church is stronger than in any other missionary field.

"The recognition of Christ by India," writes he, "has been especially emphatic in very recent years. His standards have been, for several years now, permeating the thoughts and ideals of the people; His person and character have always been fascinating to the Indian heart. Open recognition of Him in a definite way came at the example of Mr. Gandhi, and everywhere there is now a frank willingness to know better and to imbibe more deeply of the spirit of Christ.

"Let there be no illusion. India is not crying out for baptism. What has happened is a frank, manly recognition of Christ and a willingness to know more of Him. It is the psychological condition for which many heroic missionaries and Indian Christians prayed and laid down their lives in the daily humdrum of unnoticed service. It is in itself a clarion call to the flower of the British Churches to come forth and serve as He served, so that He may be perceived more truly and nearly.

"'In humbleness of lowly deeds
More strong than all poetic thought.'

"The responsibility tacitly undertaken by British Christianity in regard to 'mass movements' is onerous, and it will take many years to be discharged. These infant congregations are so many human groups whose social and moral amelioration is a direct charge on the churches of the West. Their care will demand the lives of some of the best young men and women in the British colleges. It is a nation-building task needing not

only infinite grace and patience but also high and liberal wisdom, such as will tax the best intellectual discipline of the British universities.

"Then there is the whole sphere of adequately educating the youth of the Indian Church. The whole problem of education is being earnestly investigated. The problem is to provide (1) a really suitable education such as will help the bulk of the people in their ordinary everyday life; and (2) a liberal education which will train the better gifted among them to go to positions of larger usefulness and leadership. Except in a very few cases this task cannot be shouldered entirely by Indians. This then is yet another call.

"Most Missions have now accepted the principle of Devolution, and are actually devolving responsibility on the churches with varying degrees of speed and wisdom. There are one or two serious problems arising out of this process. Where a mission finds it possible or necessary to withdraw British personnel in consequence of the devolution it is to that extent diluting the quality of its missionary responsibility by merely sending money to the field, whether it be administered by its own men and women or by the Church on the field. Missionary responsibility can be discharged only through the human personalities sent out to the field. Where devolution is taking place, the persons so sent out may have to work under the churches. But their life and service are still needed. I do not know of any church in India which can entirely dispense with such a witness. On the other hand, I have in mind certain old well-organized, self-supporting churches which are being devastated by caste and similar un-Christian evils where British men and women are most urgently needed to show the Christ, whom non-Christian India is recognizing in a more accurate and adequate way. It will be fatal to assume that the Indian Christian Community is Christian, any more than any so-called Christian community is, anywhere in

the world. The fact that there are not yet vital forces within, making foreign help unnecessary, is due to reasons regarding which it will be futile to apportion blame at this date. The point is that the Indian Church does still need foreign personnel to assist it in regard to its own spiritual life. It must not be imagined that this is the task only of the older missionaries who have known the community for many years. No: it is clearly the task of the young freshmen who can by example, as by enthusiasm, help the young leaders of the Churches to see fresh visions, and to translate them into everyday practice.

"The process of devolution is now in that interim stage which is as interesting as it is delicate. It is trying to the veterans; it is awkward to the younger men. In most cases no effectual change has resulted. In other cases only administration has changed hands, not the work itself. What is needed is to enable the younger Indians to take hold of the work as their own which is not merely to be administered, but done, and developed and expanded; to realize that the heroic day of the pioneers is not past. This is a task obviously for the young missionary from Britain.

"The nature of the tasks I have outlined to do in themselves indicate the quality of the personnel needed. If the day of the British 'Ruler' is done, so is the day of the foreign 'Teacher.' It is in no spirit of arrogance, but in honest difficulty that India desires its friends from abroad to come in the attitude of fellow-students and fellow-workers. We do find a great deal in our own culture and way of life; but our contact with you hitherto, with all its difficulties, makes us wish to know more, as haply we may feel deeper and do better. We do need you. We are not ashamed to own it; perhaps before the day is done, the benefit might seem to be mutual! While we need you, we are not idle. We are thinking and working too. We shall greatly profit if we could think and work with you in fellowship. We have nothing to offer

but gratitude and friendship; still come with your best and choicest. We have gigantic tasks and desperately perplexing problems in our great and hoary land. Come and help us with a hand, for the love of Jesus Christ!"

This is Mr. Paul's strong way of putting the matter as it makes its urgent appeal to him. He is writing to British students but the truth which he presents has validity not for any one nationality alone but for Christians because they are Christians, and it is truth which makes it clear that there is still a distinction between home and foreign missions.

But last of all, it is said, "Are there not great questions like war, race and industry which are world questions and regarding which the task of Christianity throughout the world is one?" Yes, indeed, there are. And many other questions beside these. But "the foreign mission enterprise" and "the task of Christianity" are not identical terms. There is nothing in the former that is not in the latter but there is a great deal in the latter that is not in the former. There are aspects of some of these problems with which foreign missions are unmistakably concerned but there are other aspects of them involving Christian duty where that duty is to be fulfilled by the Church through some other activity than its foreign mission agencies. These agencies have their own clear and distinctive business. The sooner that business is done the better. It is still far from done. It will be done far more speedily and effectively if the Church will keep its mind clear and unconfused and if, neglecting none of its tasks at home or abroad, it will steadily hold itself to the wise organization of its work, and to the tireless and unresting accomplishment of its mission.

LECTURE VIII

FOREIGN MISSIONS AND THE WORLD'S NEED

THE supreme and essential factor in the missionary enterprise is the spiritual and practical efficiency of the individual missionary. The whole machinery of missionary organization exists only to help the individual missionary and to make it possible for him to do his fullest work as an ambassador of God in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. Our missions and our missionary enterprise are just as weak or strong as the weakness or strength of the missionaries whom the Church sends out to the field. It is inspiring to see the position which missionaries have won and hold in all lands. Every one places implicit and unlimited confidence in their character. At Mianeh a Persian who wished to go to Tabriz attached himself to our caravan. He had some fifty or sixty tomans in money which he did not wish to carry but which he wanted in Tabriz. Mr. Pittman needed some money for the journey, and he took over the man's bag of coins and sat down to write him a receipt. "What is that for?" the man asked. Mr. Pittman explained that it was a receipt for the money. "Why do I need that?" the man asked suspiciously. "Haven't you got my money? Isn't that all the receipt I want?" And Mr. Pittman had some difficulty in prevailing upon him to accept a proper acknowledgment.

We have gone to and fro in the company of mis-

sionaries everywhere. There was no one to whom they were not able to take us from the highest Government official, European or native, down to the humblest out-caste. I travelled the length and breadth of India with the late Sir J. C. R. Ewing. He had not then been made Sir James Ewing but the honour that was paid him everywhere could not have been increased by any title. He had been at that time for nearly forty years a missionary in northern India. For thirty years he had been principal of Forman Christian College in Lahore and three times vice-chancellor of the University of the Punjab. At almost every important railway station old students would come to greet him and then to send him off. His mature and solid judgment, his upright and noble character, his sound sense and genial spirit, drew all kinds of people to him for help and counsel. In him it was clear they felt they had one in whom they could repose absolute confidence and on whose friendship and understanding they could completely rely. Those ignorant critics who speak of missionaries as intruders, unwelcome to the people to whom they have gone, know nothing of the real facts.

At the same time and just because they are good men and women, no one is readier than the missionaries themselves to acknowledge failure and shortcomings, the need of securing the best young men and women of the home Church as recruits and of giving them the best preparation for the work, and the need of the spiritual and intellectual enrichment of the life and character of each missionary now in the service that he may wield a still wider and more friendly and creative influence. As we have talked with the missionaries and native Christians there have been two points especially on which they were ever laying em-

phasis. One was the need of power and the other was the need of love. In part, no doubt, power is a matter of gift beyond our own wills. Men have one or five or ten talents according as the Lord has apportioned them, but talents can be buried or multiplied, and we have seen and rejoiced in the visible growth in power of men or women who have met the painful conditions which must be met if old horizons are to be enlarged and old limitations transcended. Many missionaries are resolutely submitting their brains to the disciplines which God has ordained for their growth. Every one of our missionaries ought to be doing this. But in the matter of love, though here too endowments differ, everything is within the reach of each.

And we see more clearly than ever how love controlling the lives of men and women in little things and in common human contacts is the great missionary power. One of the foremost Christian laymen in one of the India mission stations, a man holding important official position and a stalwart friend of the mission, told us how he had first come to Christ. He was a boy of twelve in a distant station when two of the early missionaries, husband and wife, came to establish the work. It was a great day for the small boys of the town. They joined in pelting the newcomers with sticks and refuse. They were met with no anger or retaliation, and the boy went home that night thoughtful and ashamed. And the restraint of Christian love exercised by those who were unconscious of their influence set his feet on the path to Christ. One could cite a score of instances of the power of the lack of love in little things to obscure Him. One of the best known Indians wrote the following letter to a theological student in America:

"Dear Mr. ———

"I have read your letter with pleasure. I have only one thing to say. It is this: Do not always be trying to preach your doctrine, but give yourself in love. Your Western mind is too much obsessed with the idea of conquest and possession, your inveterate habit of proselytism is another form of it. Christ never preached Himself, or any dogma or doctrine, He preached love of God. The object of a Christian should be to be like Christ, never like a coolie recruiter trying to bring coolies to his master's tea garden. Preaching your doctrine is no sacrifice at all, it is indulging in a luxury far more dangerous than all the luxuries of material living. It breeds an illusion in your mind that you are doing your duty, that you are wiser and better than your fellow beings. But the real preaching is in being perfect, which is through meekness and love and self-dedication.

"If you have in you pride of race, pride of sect, and pride of personal superiority strong, then it is no use to try to do good for others. They will reject your gift, or even if they do accept it they will not be morally benefited by it, instances of which can be seen in India every day. On the spiritual plan you cannot do good until you be good. You cannot preach Christianity of the Christian sect until you be like Christ; and then you do not preach Christianity but the love of God, which Christ did.

"You have repeatedly said that your standard of life is not likely to be different from that of the 'natives.' One thing I ask, will you be able to make yourself one with those you call 'natives,' not merely in habits but in love? For it is utterly degrading to accept any benefit except that which is offered in the spirit of love. God is love and all that we receive from His hand blesses us, but when a man tries to usurp God's place and assume the rôle of a giver of gifts and does not come as a mere purveyor of God's love, it is all vanity."

I have also a letter from one of the ablest native Christian women in one of the missions written in the fullest love and sympathy but with trenchant and unsparing exposure of the weak points in our American missionary character. "Missionaries sacrifice in large things," she writes, "often their precious lives, but they do not realize the need of sacrifice in small actions which effects far more." One of our American women sent me this letter, writing with it: "Alas, this criticism is only too just. I have given much thought to the effort to analyze this grave stumbling-block to usefulness on the foreign field, this fault which is almost universal though in degree it varies immensely. It seems to me that it is compounded of the following unpleasant ingredients:

"Lack of willingness to sacrifice in the precious *small* things.

"Lack of consecration sufficient to reach through the whole life.

"A rigidity in individual temperaments.

"Our ugly un-Christlike race prides and prejudices.

"May those who under God have charge of the young men and women who are to be missionaries preparing them for richer service and holier living among those who know not Christ be enabled to lay upon their souls as never before the absolute necessity of forgetting themselves and their Anglo-Saxonhood. The enclosed verse gives my deep feeling on the subject of adaptable missionaries that came to me not many weeks ago." These were the verses that she had written out of living experience:

"The Test"

I

"I cross four seas to come to you.
What is it that I bear?
A faith-evaporated creed,
A bait of life to snare
A not too steadfast Hindu foot
With Bread that satisfies,
Then give a mouldy crust (once Life),
Long napkined from fresh eyes?

"I cross four seas to come to you.
And is it just to rant
An Oxford wisdom, Hull House path,
Augustine, Calvin, Kant?
At touch of Shakespeare leaps my blood,
Ramayan calls your soul to flood.
Can it be true the Christ I bring
Is but an English Spirit-King?

II

"How can I unmake myself now made,
Unform myself formed, my soul unprayed,
Unthink the thoughts that have tracked my brain,
Unravel habits of joy and pain,
Be mere warm human creature, there
With the Gift of Life to show and share?

"When I have stripped off the outer self
And Western ways are dust on the shelf,
I build up my life to meet the mood
And tense by the Hindu understood,
I school my building self—God can—
To be a servant of Hindustan.

III

"At last I can know the Christ of God,
At last I can bring the Christ of God
To the Christless hearts of Hindustan.
Now, they can find Heaven's Lord made Man."

The writer of these lines would not have made great poetic claims for them but she knew that they held truth.

One of the foremost moral qualities of foreign mission work has been its tenacity. "What," exclaimed one of the Turkish officials in Mosul in 1895, when the slates which had been ordered for the use of the mission school arrived, "What, here are slates and pencils for 200 children, and yet we are trying to drive the Mission out! It is of no avail." At Yeung Kong in the South China Mission when they were digging recently for the foundations for the new mission house which was going up, they came on old foundations and discovered that they had unwittingly chosen the very site on which Dr. J. C. Thompson had started a dispensary a generation before. Chinese opposition had expelled him and obliterated the building, but the spirit that is in the missionary enterprise and that never lets go had brought its agents back to the very spot to rebuild. One is anxious that the shorter terms of service, the more frequent furloughs, the easier travel, the spirit of probation and of experiment in modern missions shall not be allowed to relax the ancient deathless grip of the missionary enterprise upon its undertakings.

One of the great missionary dangers is the danger of excessive development of overhead organization.

Mission committees and conferences and interdenominational agencies are for their appropriate purposes and within their appropriate limits indispensable. It is a good thing that they have been developed in correction of the ultra-individualism of the earlier days. But those missionaries and native Christians are justified who feel apprehensive lest this overhead conferential and supervisory organization should be developed beyond the necessities of the work and should absorb and ineffectually use missionary energy which ought to be spent not in the manipulation of the Christian forces, far too scanty, which have as yet been called into existence, but in the creation of new Christian forces. I have seen a great deal of the work of overhead agencies, and a great deal of one's time at home is given to them. I believe in them, but I believe still more in the fundamental cellular work of the individual pastor at home, making his local church a power of salvation to the individual and to the community, and of the individual foreign missionary abroad, winning definite persons to Christian faith and life and bringing into being the beginnings of Christian Churches. In this work every institutional agency is justified that is in any way serviceable to the end in view, but the first and last agency is human intercourse, the communication of the truth of the Gospel through word and deed by one man to one man. "Preaching," said Herzen, the Russian thinker, speaking of another gospel than the Gospel, "is necessary for mankind, incessant preaching, provided it be rational, preaching directed alike to worker and employer, to burgher and to tiller of the soil. We have more need of apostles than of officers of the advance guard or sappers of destruction. We need apostles

who will preach to opponents as well as to sympathizers. Preaching to the enemy is a great deed of love."

Next to the individual missionary is the native Church as a fundamental missionary factor. Just as Boards and missions exist for the sake of the individual missionary, so his end is found in establishing and assisting a living native Church. I use the word "native" without hesitation. It is a current fashion in missionary literature to eschew it on the ground that it is a reproachful term. What makes it reproachful? Not its history. It is a good and honest word, one of the best and most honest words in the English language. If it has been tainted by any conditions existing in the mission work, the right course is to change the conditions and not to allow a noble word to be degraded. So long as the conditions exist they will taint any other word that may be substituted for it. They will taint "indigenous" faster than they tainted "native." They will taint "Church" as they are already beginning to do. They will even taint the word "Christian." What needs to be changed is not the good word "native" but the facts of dependence and subservience in the native Church. It is desirable that there should be clear thinking and straight speaking in this matter, because there is danger that in some countries the mission enterprise will be led into a morass in which both Missions and Churches will be bogged to their detriment and confusion.

The supreme and determining aim of missions in any country, India for example, is to get Jesus Christ made known and accepted. Elemental to this aim is the establishment of a Christian Church in India, but the establishment of the Church in any land is not a

matter of terminology. It is a matter of fact. And a Church that is a Church in fact and not merely in term will be self-dependent, self-governed, and most of all a force of living and spontaneous propaganda. I do not say that it must be. I simply say that it will be. To give up the idea of financial self-dependence is to accept the fact of dependence, and that fact, no matter how it may be obscured by mergers or by agreements, will keep the Church, so long as it remains a fact, from fulfilling its functions or wielding its power. The spirit of race superiority on the part of missions in whatever way it displays itself, in temper or in policy, as to money, relationships, or anything else, is a baneful thing, a barrier to be overcome in the effort to plant and develop an efficient and sovereign native Church. But the fact of financial dependence is a barrier also, and the native Church ought resolutely to set itself to overcome that barrier. Until it does so, no subordination of missionaries to it nor any merging of missions with it will make it independent or set it in its rightful place of national religious leadership.

The emergence of leadership like Mr. Gandhi's in India is an encouraging and an inspiring sign. His is a free voice, morally and economically free. The Church in India is not without leadership. It has men as free as Mr. Gandhi and freer. With a spirit of good-will and trust and coöperation they are seeking to bring foreigner and native alike into the unity of Christ and of the universal Church of Christ, at the same time that they are seeking to make the Church in India independent and national. Would that there were more such men who would do for the Church in India what Paul Sawayama, whose biography

every leader of the indigenous Churches would do well to read, did for Japan.

The world in which these Christian forces are at work, with which we have to deal to-day and through whose shadows the traveller moves, is a hungry, weary and divided world.

It is a hungry world. The compassion which our Lord felt for physical hunger when He was upon the earth would be deepened into anguish if He were abroad in the flesh among the nations to-day. There are millions of men who have plenty and to spare, but there are millions more who hunger for daily bread and who suffer from sickness and pain. I have been in Japan many times and have always heretofore come away with the thought of the nation's comfort and health, but the impression with which the visitor comes away to-day is of the nation's sickness and need. Twenty per cent. of the young women who return from the industrial world every year die of tuberculosis. According to the Tokyo *Asahi* of 1,800,000 children born each year 140,000 are still-born and 300,000 die in infancy. *The Christian Movement* declares, "The squalid and crowded condition of the three- and four-mat homes, the home industries carried on, sickness, quarrelling, carousing and incessant turmoil in his own or adjacent hovels make impossible the normal sleep, quiet and development of the child. Lack of chance for play and for following out his own ideas and childish pursuits unmolested also stunts him mentally and physically. The total absence of pictures, books, helpful conversation, educational trips and uplifting atmosphere still further hinders the development. The school is faced with the difficult task of injecting into the child physical, mental and moral

training and stimulus to enable him to go out into the world at the age of twelve or fourteen with a fair equipment for life."

In China even the children of upper class homes are insufficiently nourished. One of the handicaps which China bears to-day is the physical weakness of its upper class men, due to a number of causes, but insufficient nutrition is one of the chief of them. One of the most prominent business men in Shanghai, of excellent family, told me that as a boy he had never been adequately fed, that their evening meal had consisted only of weak tea and bread. As to the poor and the conditions under which they live one may quote the testimony of an old resident and lover of China:

"There is no country where the struggle for existence is harder and where those who do work approach nearer to slavery. The carpenter, the tinsmith, the shoemaker, and other artisans labour early and late for the pittance which keeps soul and body together. Sunrise sees such men at bench or anvil, and sometimes at ten, eleven or even twelve o'clock at night they are still occupied. What a smile of mingled wonder, admiration, longing and despair would pass over the features of a Chinese artisan were the Western movement for an 'eight-hour day' clearly explained to him!

"If the Chinese workman after his sixteen or eighteen hours' labour had a comfortable home to go to, a cheery fireside to sit by, a dining table on which were set tempting viands fitted for the support and the consolation of man, then there would be some recompense for his daily grind; but there are none of these things. His workshop is his home, his only fireside the earthen pot which holds the bits of charcoal to melt his glue, and the tempting

viands—save the mark!—what are they? The cheapest grade of rice, a little salt cabbage, and maybe a bit of fish now and then, and, for drink, hot water with a few tea-leaves of the cheaper kind infused in it. This for the artisan. For the many grades below him, the English language, rich as it is, falls short in descriptive power. Rats, mice, dogs, cats, and everything with fins that may be available find welcome on the menu. The condition of these people with regard to cleanliness is a subject which it is impossible to discuss.

"What of the surroundings? What of the means of sanitation, of supplies of clean water and fresh air? Visits both to country villages and crowded cities are necessary before these questions can be answered. And then what do we find? We find that, until the foreigner arrived in China, the nation, as it is, seemed to care little or nothing about the need either for pure water or fresh air, and, if they knew their value either would not or could not do anything practical for their provision. The cities depend on their water supply from a filthy river if there be one, from filthier creeks, or from surface wells into which there is every facility for the infiltration, sometimes for the direct drainage, of sewage. In the country, things are sometimes better. Nature amongst the hills provides a purling stream perhaps, though even there, there is no law to prevent man from doing his worst for its befoulment. On the plains, especially in dry weather, the water supply is far less ideal than this. It seems incredible that at the very spot, in stagnant water, where the household fœcal utensils have been faithfully scrubbed in the morning, there the evening rice will be 'cleaned.' Yet so it is. One degree lower even than this is the sanitary, or rather, insanitary condition of a permanent beggars' camp. Ever since the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai began there have been some of these just outside the limits. They could not be tolerated within. At the moment, the most populous, though not perhaps

the most offensive, is in the district of Chapei. We will not introduce the reader to it for obvious reasons, but we do desire him to consider for a moment what moral conditions are likely, in the majority of instances, to result from birth and breeding in such an environment. That physical weakness must be common is plain. Inferior parentage and bad food have never yet produced a perfect physique. The only wonder to Western residents in China is that in some surroundings it is possible to live at all, and the only explanation offered is that, after ages of elimination, all who could be affected by dirt diseases have already died, and those that remain are immune. One saving factor in the situation has been the wretched construction of the Chinese house, made, as it is, so flimsily and loosely as to admit a large amount of outside air, which may sometimes be pure" (Lanning, "Old Forces in New China," p. 43f.).

In India many millions of people live on one meal a day and never know what it is to have enough to eat. In the United Provinces covering one of the most fertile areas in India only one-third of the population has as much daily food as is given to the prisoners in the Naini jail near Allahabad. This is the bare amount really required by the body, and two-thirds of the people of the United Provinces do not average even three-fourths of this ration. Thirty per cent. of the babies in the United Provinces die under twelve months of age. In America fifty per cent. of the babies live to be sixty; in the United Provinces fifty per cent. die before they are ten. The probability of life in India for a ten-year-old boy is sixty per cent. of the probability of an American boy. A census of beggars in the city of Bombay in November, 1921, counting only those who were "following their avoca-

tions in the streets, in the compounds of temples, and other holy places showed 6,883. About one-fourth of them were children under sixteen, including infants in arms."

In Persia one is always within sight of human misery, and the beggar's cry is never far away. In some places it was impossible to stand on the street because of their importunity. Thousands of men and women and children were clad only in shreds of rags in bitter winter time. When we crossed into the Caucasus, the poverty was deeper still. Consider the conditions that prevailed in Russia before the war. Three-fourths of the peasant families had insufficient land. Seventy and seven-tenths per cent. of the peasants secured less from the land than would suffice for a decent living. Twenty and four-tenths per cent. could feed themselves, but not their stock. Only eight and nine-tenths per cent. could buy anything more than the bare necessaries of daily consumption. On the fruitful black soil of southern Russia, after all taxes had been paid by a Russian family of five, not more than eighty-two rubles remained for the whole year's subsistence (Masaryk, "The Spirit of Russia," Vol. I, p. 163). The Agrarian Committee appointed by Witte in 1903 reported, "When the harvest is normal, the amount of nutriment obtainable by the peasant is on the average thirty per cent. below the minimum physiologically requisite to maintain an adult worker on the land." And to-day this dark picture must be replaced by one still darker, black with famine and death.

"Then Jesus said, I have compassion on the multitude because they have nothing to eat."

It is a sad and weary world with which we have to

do. While in the Caucasus I read the report of an English visitor to those hungry peoples, who wrote that even the little children could no longer play. All they could do, unless relief reached them, was to lay wasted little limbs down by the wayside and wait the end. But so long as their little legs would carry them they would play their childish games. It was a woeful play to watch, and one could not watch it and wonder at the sadness of the world. And the world knows very well that it is not by bread alone that men live. It is sad with other sadness than that of hunger or of seeing little children hungry. Some Hindu poet set it forth in lines in a paper in Madras:

"Weary are we of empty creeds,
Of deafening calls to fruitless deeds;
Weary of priests who cannot pray,
Of guides who show no man the way:
Weary of rites wise men condemn,
Of worship linked with lust and shame;
Weary of Custom, blind, enthroned,
Of conscience trampled, God disowned;
Weary of men in sections cleft,
Hindu life of love bereft;
Woman debased, no more a queen
Nor knowing what she once hath been;
Weary of babbling about birth,
And of the mockery men call mirth;
Weary of life not understood,
A battle, not a brotherhood;
Weary of Kali Yuga years,
Freighted with chaos, darkness, fears;
Life is an ill, the sea of births is wide,
And we are weary; who shall be our guide?"

It is not only a hungry and weary world. It is a divided and distracted world. "A battle not a brotherhood," the Hindu poet says. And who is responsible for this battle? There are some who lay the responsibility upon the Asiatic people, who speak of a "Rising Tide of Colour" threatening the white race, or "a revolt of the coloured races against the ascendancy of the white races." *The Times of India* of November 17, 1921, reported the debate in the House of Lords on the Outlook in India. Lord Curzon had been followed by the late viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, who said: "The dominating factor in the present situation in India was the race and colour issue. There was a revolt of the coloured races going on all over the world against the ascendancy of the white races. But though it was not merely an Indian Problem, it met them in almost every Indian question which came up—it was an all-pervading issue. Two consequences had flowed from this. In the past, we governed India on the basis of the acknowledged superiority of the British race. That superiority was now challenged, and, in surveying the situation they could not ignore that the challenge had been made. The colour issue had become a unifying force in India, and through all the diversity of creeds and races it was creating union. That, again, was a fact that they could not ignore in a survey of the situation in India at the present moment." Once there was a day when the Asiatic races resisted the ascendancy of the white races. There was a day when they fought against this ascendancy. It is significant that all the battles were fought in Asiatic waters or on Asiatic soil. Who must have been the aggressor? And today the Asiatic races are setting themselves with firm

and resolute purpose not to be dominated and exploited any longer by the West. But intellectually the yellow races have not rebelled against white ascendancy. They have paid it the greatest tribute they could. They have gone to its schools. They have imported its teachers. They have sought to master its knowledge. They are desirous of making it their own. They are indeed weary of inequality and injustice but wherein are they waging any battle or proposing any conflict? What are they asking for that is not absolutely just and right, neither ascendancy nor subserviency, but simply the recognition of human brotherhood, the right of every race to fulfill its duty, and the duty of every race to possess its rights? We did not meet in Asia, and I have never met in any land in Asia, any disposition whatever to invade the rights of the white races, any claim to an unfair share in the world which God has made for all His children. If there is racial discord because the peoples of Asia accept as valid for themselves, subject to the actual political facts that condition them, the great principles on which our own national life is based, the guilt is not to be laid at their doors.

Across these confusions and necessities great forces are moving to one or another of which men fasten their hope of a better and happier world. Men are approaching the task with new and larger conceptions of the function of government. One afternoon as I sat in front of a woe-begone roadside tea-house in Persia I read a clipping from *The New York Times,* containing a speech which Mr. Vanderlip made at a dinner of the Economic Club in November, 1921, on his return from a study of the financial and economic conditions in eastern Europe. He was arguing that

government activity is as legitimate in building up the new world as in tearing down the old. "Curiously," he said, "as governments are organized in this world and time, they find it impossible to make expenditures for those very objects which would be of the greatest possible value in improving civilization. Moved as we are, governed as we are, it is possible for nations to raise by taxation huge sums, provided those sums are devoted to certain purposes. Without much grumbling a nation will tax itself to support a great army and to maintain a too numerous civil service. As a matter of course European nations tax themselves vast sums to pay for the costs of past wars and to provide against the possibilities of future wars.

"While a nation will, with prodigal hands, spend money on those things which have furnished the chief items of national budgets for a thousand years, it will at the same time refrain from doing an endless number of things which, if done, would profoundly affect for the better the nation's future and profoundly influence for the better the course of civilization.

"Most of such admirable projects are now left to be worked out in a puny way by an occasional philanthropist or, far more often, left altogether undone. Any one with wide experience and awakened imagination knows that it would be possible to make expenditures of a character, now rarely, if ever, sanctioned by the tax-payer, the return upon which in terms of the welfare of mankind would be incalculably greater than is the return from most of the objects upon which government incomes are lavished."

Mr. Vanderlip proceeded to argue for a like new mind in international relationships and to describe a humane method of handling Europe's war indebted-

ness to the United States. I laid Mr. Vanderlip's speech down and looked out over poor Persia. Upon war with Persia, with adequate cause, other nations would spend to Persia's destruction and their own certain loss enough money if rightly expended to make Persia a new land, a home of new happiness to the Persian people, and a source of new wealth and prosperity to other nations. According to the old notions of government the destructive expenditure would have been legitimate; the creative expenditure chimerical. The whole national income of Persia for three years would barely build one modern battleship. The cost of the World War for one day would have supplied Persia with roads, schools, sanitation, unsealed her national resources, and opened the industries appropriate to her economic life. Some day quixotic ideas like these and Mr. Vanderlip's may creep into men's thoughts about the functions of government and be seen to be not quixotic at all but only Christianity and common sense. Meanwhile there is the hungry and weary and distracted world.

There are two functions, however, which governments are using to-day in the influence of human life which in one view may be regarded as new but which in another view are very old. One is the use of religion in a political interest. There can be no doubt of such a present-day use of Islam both by governments and by political movements seeking to acquire governmental control. "Islam," said one of the shrewdest and most competent observers of life in Irak, "has now become politics even more than religion. Moslems know that Christianity is right and that Islam is unfit to be the religion either of individuals or of the State. Nevertheless they stick to it as politics.

The Moslems of Irak are Arabs. Arabic is their tongue. They have no future save in the preservation of Arabic traditions and institutions, or so they believe. And this present-day stiffening of Mohammedanism is not an utterance of religious devotion or conviction. It is a manipulated political development." We quoted this view to a group of leading young men in one of the cities of Mesopotamia in 1922 and asked them whether they thought it well-founded. "Yes and no," they answered. "Politicians are using the Islamic revival for political ends, but it is our conviction that there is more true religious feeling in Turkish and Arab Mohammedanism to-day than there has been for a long time. Moslems pray in all the mosques for the Sultan as the true Caliph of Islam, and they pray with a deeper and warmer religious faith than before the war."

I asked a group of the most intelligent men, bankers, merchants, doctors and others in one of the Persian cities what they thought of this view. "The Mohammedans of Persia," they replied, "are Shiahs, or as the name implies schismatics. The schism between them and the rest of the Mohammedan world is real. They are not interested in the Khilafat or in Pan-Islam. They care nothing for the Sultan, and they distrust Turkey. Many of them are very poor Mohammedans. One reason why Bahaism has spread so in Persia is that it serves for a cloak for Moslems and Jews who do not care much for their own religion, but who want still to have a pretence of religion and at the same time to be free to do as they please. Nevertheless we believe that in Persia, also, Mohammedanism is being used in a nationalistic interest and that men in positions of political leadership, who have

no faith in Mohammedanism at all for themselves, are still trying to use it to stiffen Persian nationalism, without at the same time releasing forces of fanaticism that would prejudice Persia's good name for tolerance."

In India the nationalistic spirit has unquestionably stiffened Hinduism, and Hinduism has been used as the instrument of nationalism. And it is hard to see how more effective use could be made than has been made, both in India and in Great Britain, of Mohammedan religious feeling to forward, by the Khilafat movement, the political ends both of the Turkish Government and of the Indian nationalists. The Hindu-Mohammedan alliance has made it impossible to use any one religion as a political rallying cry in India, however, and, on this account as well as on others, the consequences of that alliance will be very far-reaching and by no means of the character which the manipulators of the movement will have foreseen or desired. The effort to use Confucianism as a patriotic and exclusive political force in China was boldly and ably made several years ago under the leadership of men who had been educated in American universities, but was defeated in part by the Chinese secular temper, in part by Chinese good sense, and in part by the influence of Christianity. In Japan the State has used Shintoism in the most skillful and persistent way to buttress the authority of the throne and to produce the political temper among the people which was believed to be essential to the maintenance of the national character and the accomplishment of the national destiny. The King of Siam, who has just died, has followed zealously in the same pathway and sought to make use of Buddhism as an agency for the creation

of a national consciousness and the preservation of national traditions.

The other of the two forms of government influence to which I have referred is the deliberated use of education in a political interest. Germany was the outstanding illustration of this policy in the West and Japan in the East. Professor Monroe has described present-day tendencies in this direction in his article on "Missionary Education and National Policy" in the *International Review of Missions* in July, 1921. It cannot be said that this tendency is as yet of any appreciable consequence in some countries, Persia for example. In other countries, such as India, where governmental influence in education has been supreme, it cannot be said that it has been exercised in a distinctly political interest, and it is significant that in India education has been one of the first departments of government of which the national government has divested itself, committing it to the provincial governments, and which in the provincial governments has been transferred under the Montague–Chelmsford Reforms to Indian administration and control. It is not to be doubted, and it is surely to be desired, that governments will feel an increasing responsibility to provide adequate education for all their people. Nothing surely is more clearly the duty and privilege of a government, unless it be the maintenance of order and the protection of rights, and to both of these ends popular education is the indispensable means.

But no use of religion or of education by government can ever go far enough to meet human need, to reform human character, or to renew the broken world. Such use can go so far as to hinder the achievement of these ends, but it can never go far enough to ac-

complish them. Nor will economic forces avail. They too have gone abroad over the world, and no small part of the hunger and the weariness and the discord of the earth are due to the way in which man has violated economic laws, whose rational and docile use, in obedience to God who ordained them, would have helped to bring in a new paradise, but which disobeyed have turned upon men in judgment. The redemption of the world is not to be found in any gospel of government or of education or of trade.

Nor is the gospel of America to save the world. It is pathetic to see the way in which many of the Asiatic people grasp at this gospel. To escape to America is the one longed-for deliverance of the Persian Assyrians. They desire their old homes in Urumia, but if the doors of America had opened to them they would have gone forth from the camp at Bakuba in a solid body. If they cannot go to America, they asked next, "Cannot America come to us and bring security and prosperity with her?" And wherever we went in Persia, from Meshed to Tabriz, and from Tairuk to Resht, we heard but one sentiment from the Persian Mohammedans, Why would not America come to help them? They believed in her disinterestedness, that she wanted no territory and no authority. Did she not know how eagerly she was desired, not with her capital only but with her counsel and with her friendship?

Even in Turkey, where the Christian populations longed for America's coming in acceptance of the mandate which had been offered to her, there were Christian men who, in spite of the refusal of that mandate, trusted America's usefulness and even saw in the refusal an evidence both of unselfishness and of wisdom. They did not believe that the mandate had

been offered in a form or with a territorial range that would have made it possible for America to deal with the whole problem. It had been nothing, they thought, but a scheme on the part of European governments, who had already helped themselves to all that they wanted of the Turkish Empire, to unload the rest in an impossible form upon America. These men were glad, so they said, that America had not taken even in the form of a mandate one single acre of the territory of the defeated nations. They did not go back to our earlier wars, and they were not advocating the little American spirit. On the contrary, they were appealing for an American service of the world in the spirit of the address which Mr. Vanderlip had made to the Economic Club. The good-will which we met towards America everywhere made us tremble for the future and the answer which America will make to the expectations of the peoples. Certainly we shall not altogether fail them, and there are innumerable services which we can render by a just example in all our international dealings, by purity of social and political life within our own borders, by the unboastful use of our great strength, by expanding our trade with all peoples and conducting it in honour and through men of honourable lives, by helping people wherever they need help and are willing to accept it from a nation which offers it on terms of respect and righteousness. Never did any nation have such an opportunity for human service on a scale as wide as human need as our nation has to-day. Such service must certainly be a part of God's program for the good of His children and of His earth.

But the force which is to meet the needs of the world is not in the keeping of any government to wield.

There is an old word of St. Paul's which seems ludicrous to many to-day, but which, the Church knows, holds the one solution of the problem of this hungry, weary, and disordered world. "It was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believe. Seeing that the Jews ask for signs, and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling-block and unto Gentiles foolishness, but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." Neither Hinduism nor Mohammedanism nor government nor education nor trade nor national service will avail. The missionary enterprise rests upon the conviction that Jesus Christ alone is the Saviour of the world, and that, while in the end His salvation will include, as on the way to the end it will use, all the good that there is in human purpose and endeavour, still the root of all, the one fundamental necessity, is the personal relationship of individuals to Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour.

This view is undeniably at variance with all religious syncretism, with the easy modern view that all religions are essentially alike. It might not be hard to bring the world to this view. Beginning with the first Christian century other religions have again and again offered to compromise with Christianity on these terms. Hinduism is very ready to recognize Christ as the avatara for Christians in the same sense in which Krishna is the avatara for Hindus. "Pandit Sivanath Sastry in his book 'Men I Have Seen' relates that a Christian preacher who was the Pandit's friend, once accompanied him on a visit to Ramkrishna. When he introduced his friend to Paramahamsa, Ramkrishna bowed his head to the ground and

said, 'I bow again and again at the feet of Jesus.' The Christian gentleman asked: 'How is it, sir, that you bow at the feet of Christ? What do you think of Him?' 'Why, I look upon Him as an incarnation of God—an incarnation like our Rama or Krishna. Don't you know there is a passage in the Bhagwat where it is said that the incarnations of Vishnu or the Supreme Being are innumerable?'" (*The Indian Social Reformer,* September 14, 1919).

Even Mohammedanism is prepared for a new comprehension. I have reported in an earlier chapter the conversation with a little group of Mohammedans in a Persian village who agreed that they were prepared to abandon any claim to superiority of character in Mohammed over Christ, and I remember a striking expression of an old Mohammedan teacher in a Persian city who told me that he knew the New Testament well, that he thought he had the whole of it by heart. "And do you believe it?" I asked him. "Sir," said he, "I am a banker in words. Just as the banker in money knows the true coin from the false, so I know words, and I declare to you that these words of the New Testament are true." And yet he has not given up Islam. Not in the East only but in the West as well, this tolerant syncretism is gathering strength. I read in India in an Indian magazine an address by Viscount Haldane delivered in London on July 3, 1921, applying the doctrine of relativity to the ideals of a university and incidentally to religion. It was a moving address, on the high plane and in the great spirit characteristic of Lord Haldane, but the doctrine of relativity appeared with new significance as a leveling and syncretising theological influence. The note is more than familiar in books, new and old, on Asia

and Asia's religion. One out of a hundred paragraphs will suffice for illustration:

"The differences between us lie less in the fundamental teaching of the 'holy sages,' be they Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist or Christian, and more in the narrowness of the superstructure which their respective followers have built on it. We can easily imagine the loving friendliness with which Christ and Confucius, Lao-tsze and Gautama, Zoroaster and Mahomet might have met and discussed the broad foundations of a system of moral teaching in which all could have agreed. Side by side they might have worked, stone by stone they might have built, each giving to other his aid, his sympathy, his love. The lower portions of the spacious edifice doubtless would have comprised a number of separate rooms, but none secluded. Hand in hand the sages would have traversed the corridors in friendly converse, and had they done so, and had their followers kept strictly to their teaching, there might have been peace on earth" (Lanning, "Old Forces in New China," p. 39f.).

The contrary missionary view of Christianity and of the world may be called narrow. Very well, let men call it what they please. This is the view on which the missionary enterprise rests, the view that Jesus Christ is the one incarnation of God, that He is the only Saviour of the World, that whatever truth there is in any other religion is only a broken light of Him, that He is the real "desire of the nations," and that all that they are feeling after is to be found in Him and in Him alone, that the world for which men long or ought to long can only come as individuals pass into His purifying power and as through them His Kingdom comes upon the earth. This was

the way the early Church conceived the Christian faith, and this is the way the missionary enterprise conceives it. On the way from Shanghai to Singapore I read Bishop Westcott's "Commentary on the Epistles of St. John" and the accompanying essays, and I copied two extracts from them. One referred to the impossibility of any compromise between Christianity and Roman religion:

"The martyrs might have escaped tortures and death by the affectation or semblance of conformity to popular customs, but such conformity would have involved a complete sacrifice of their faith. Christians were not contented with permission to exercise their personal religion without molestation: they demanded freedom for expansion and conquest. If indeed a distinct conception be formed of what Christianity is, it will be evident that a sincere and zealous pagan could not but persecute it. The Christian Faith is universal; it is absolute; it is aggressive; and once more, it is spiritual and not only temporal. On all these grounds it necessarily came into collision with the Roman laws. . . .

"Here then lies the second difference between imperial paganism and Christianity which made persecution inevitable. Christianity is absolute. It can admit no compromise. It is essentially grounded upon personal conviction and not accepted as an accident of descent. It is embodied in a Church which is held together by unity of faith; and not in a Nation which represents at least unity of race.

"Nothing struck the apologists with more amazement than the first natural consequence which followed from this difference between the Christian and heathen conceptions of religion. They saw the popular gods held up to mockery upon the stage, degraded in the works of poets, ridiculed by philosophers, and they could not

reconcile such license and sarcasm with resolute devotion. But to the polytheist of the empire—and to all later polytheists—the offices of worship were an act of public duty and not of private confession. Outward conformity in act was owed to the State, complete freedom in opinion and word was allowed to the worshipper. There was no complete and necessary correspondence between the form and the thought. With the Christian it was otherwise. His religion in every detail was the expression of his soul. So it was the Christian confessor would make no compromise. This phenomenon was a novel one; and we can see in the records of the martyrdoms how utterly the magistrates were incapable of understanding the difficulty which Christians felt in official conformity. In their judgment it was perfectly consistent with religious faith to drop the morsel of incense on the fire, and still retain allegiance to Christ. All that they required was the appearance of obedience and not the distinct expression of conviction" (Westcott, "The Epistles of St. John," pp. 255, 261).

But the conviction of the Christian Church was set for life or death the opposite way. Hinduism is entirely ready to make the same terms with Christianity to-day that Roman religion was ready to make. Such a triumph of Christianity in India might be speedy, but it certainly would be fatal. Christian missions have gone out not to compromise but to achieve Christ's absolute supremacy.

It may seem to some that the view set forth in this volume has leaned too strongly to an individualistic interpretation of the aim and methods of Christian missions. I have nothing to take back of anything that has been said that might support this impression; for I believe that in the end it will be found that this

is the broadest social principle and that all social movements that cheapen the significance of individual personality and of the relationship of individual character and action to social progress will prove shallow and ineffectual. But side by side with the steady effort to hold fast, in the interest of reality, to the principle of personal action pursued by our Lord and dominating all the great movements in human history, I have striven to do justice to the significance of corporate influence and to the value of all the institutional and collective forces which are both personal and impersonal, and also to the tendencies which are often so impersonal as to elude our sight though they operate with tremendous power. We have seen the pervading and transforming social energy of the missionary enterprise. It is affecting in the most radical way the East's conceptions of society, of the relationship of man to man and of man to woman, of industry, of the treatment of poverty, of popular education, of hygiene and sanitation and the conservation of public health, of the care of children, of marriage and of the institution of the family, of patriotism and the interrelations of races and of nations, of the possibility, the method and the goals of human progress. The place and influence of foreign missions and of the native Churches in the movement of human life is immeasurably out of proportion to their numerical strength. They are the most powerful single social force in Asia. And their strength as a force of social redemption is fundamentally due to their gospel of personal redemption through our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of man and of men.

There is no conflict between the individual and the social principle, and they have been recognized and

interwoven from the beginning of the missionary enterprise. "Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptation, Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." "And we have beheld and bear witness that the Father has sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world." There is no discord between these statements. There will be no saving of the world without the saving of sinners, and the saving of sinners is to the end of the saving of the world.

It is a saved world that allures the imagination and hope of men to-day. In one of his papers on the Washington Disarmament Conference, Mr. H. G. Wells drew an engaging picture of "a world at peace with mankind striving for and accomplishing only the best things." As the colours were drying on the picture, he added, "This is no idle prophecy; this is no dream. Such a world is ours to-day—if we could but turn the minds of men to realize that it is here for the having. These things can be done; this finer world is within reach." Why then do we not have it? Is there one man out of a hundred or a hundred thousand in the world who does not want it? How are we to get it? Mr. Wells answers as best he can, "I must needs go about this present world of disorder and darkness like an exile doing such feeble things as I can towards the world of my desire, now hopefully, now bitterly, as the moods may happen, until I die." This is a much more individualistic attitude than any that I have set forth in this volume. We must look for some larger prescription. I would close these lectures with three of these picked out of the reading that it was possible to do on a recent trip in Asia. Let any one answer which of the three holds in it the hope of the world.

The first is from a book which I read crossing the continent to San Francisco, an old and germinal book, Galton's "Inquiries Into Human Faculty":

"It is clear from what has been said, that men of former generations have exercised enormous influence over the human stock of the present day, and that the average humanity of the world now and in the future years is and will be very different to what it would have been if the action of our forefathers had been different. The power in man of varying the future human stock vests a great responsibility in the hands of each fresh generation, which has not yet been recognized at its just importance, nor deliberately employed. It is foolish to fold the hands and to say that nothing can be done, inasmuch as social forces and self-interests are too strong to be resisted. They need not be resisted; they can be guided. It is one thing to check the course of a huge steam vessel by the shock of a sudden encounter when she is going at full speed in the wrong direction, and another to cause her to change her course slowly and gently by a slight turn to the helm. Nay, a ship may be made to describe a half circle, and to end by following a course exactly opposite to the first, without attracting the notice of the passengers. . . .

"While recognizing the awful mystery of conscious existence and the inscrutable background of evolution, we find that as the foremost outcome of many and long birth-throes, intelligent and kindly man finds himself in being. He knows how petty he is, but he also perceives that he stands here on this particular earth, at this particular time, as the heir of untold ages and the van of circumstance. He ought therefore, I think, to be less diffident than he is usually instructed to be, and to rise to the conception that he has a considerable function to perform in the order of events, and that his exertions are needed. It seems to me that he should look upon himself more as a freeman, with

power of shaping the course of future humanity, and that he should look upon himself less as the subject of a despotic government, in which case it would be his chief merit to depend wholly upon what had been regulated for him, and to render abject obedience.

"The question then arises as to the way in which man can assist in the order of events. I reply, by furthering the course of evolution. He may use his intelligence to discover and expedite the changes that are necessary to adapt circumstance to race and race to circumstance, and his kindly sympathy will urge him to effect them mercifully" (Galton, "Inquiry Into Human Faculty," pp. 206, 218).

There is no sign anywhere in the world of such rational control of social progress.

The second is from an article in the *Yale Review*, January, 1922, by Prof. Flinders Petrie, on "The Outlook for Civilization," which I read in a box-car between Alexandropol and Tiflis:

"If we were able to mould the future, the reasonable course would be to look around for a race which would best counteract the deficiencies of ourselves, and to favour a mixture in isolation. We need to remedy the unrest and excitability of the present population by producing a more stolid and hard-working people; to counteract the lack of security by a sense of permanence and commercial morality; to hinder the prevalent waste by the development of a frugal and saving habit; to keep our knowledge to its right uses by a peace-loving people who do not glorify fighting; to turn our intellectual frivolity into a love of solid reading and literature. We need a race less sensitive in nerves, though not less perceptive in thought; and, above all, it must be a race which commands the respect and affection of those who have lived among it

and know it best. I leave it to the reader to think what cultivated race of the present world would fulfill these conditions."

The Chinese people are the only race which answers this description.

A third quotation is from the essay of Bishop Westcott's to which I have already referred, on "The Two Empires: The Church and the World":

"The burden of St. Paul's first teaching in Europe was that there was 'another King than Cæsar, even Jesus.' The same apostle when he sums up his work describes himself as having gone about 'preaching' 'the Kingdom of God;' and the last glimpse which is given of his labours at Rome shows him there still preaching the kingdom.

"Everywhere the same idea is prominent in the history of the Acts and in the Apostolic letters. At one time it excites the hostility of unbelievers; at another time it gives occasion to mistaken hopes in Christians. But however the truth was misrepresented and misunderstood, however much it gave occasion to unjust attacks and visionary expectations, it was still held firmly. The idea may have grown somewhat unfamiliar to us now, but it is clearly impressed upon the New Testament. The distinctness with which we have learned to realize our personal responsibility and personal relationship to God in this last age of the Church has brought with it some drawbacks, and this is one of them, that the sense of a visible Kingdom of God on earth established in righteousness and embracing all the fullness of humanity has been deadened.

"The Christian creed cannot stop short of a social realization. It deals with men not as isolated units but as members of a commonwealth. Opinions may differ as to

the form in which the society will be revealed, but the fact that Christianity must issue in the perfection of social life, and must manifest its power in dealings with social relations, cannot be lost sight of without peril to the dignity and essence of Faith.

"It is, then, quite true to say that two Empires, two social organizations, designed to embrace the whole world, started together in the first century. The one appeared in the completeness of its form; the other only in the first embodiment of the vital principle which included all aftergrowth. But the two Empires had nothing in common except their point of departure and their claim to universality. In principle, in mode of action, in sanctions, in scope, in history they offer an absolute contrast. The Roman Empire was essentially based on positive law; it was maintained by force; it appealed to outward well-doing; it aimed at producing external coöperation or conformity. The Christian Empire was no less essentially based on faith; it was propagated and upheld by conviction; it lifted the thoughts and working of men to that which was spiritual and eternal; it strove towards the manifold exhibition of one common life. The history of the Roman Empire is from the first the history of a decline and fall checked by many noble efforts and many wise counsels, but still inevitable. The history of the Christian Empire is from the first the history of a victorious progress, stayed and saddened by frequent faithlessness and self-seeking but still certain and assured though never completed."

Where else than in the completion of this Empire is the hope of the world to be found? And how is its completion to be achieved? By many forces wielded by the purpose of God,—good government and honourable trade and true education, care for human health, the production and conservation and just

distribution of wealth, man's fuller knowledge of himself and of his brothers and of the world. The mission enterprise does not speak slightingly of these or of any of the unnumbered ways in which God is advancing His purpose of righteousness and unity upon the earth. But it believes that it is doing His work in the most central and fundamental way of all. "How do you plan to help Persia?" we asked a young Christian man in Tabriz. In his own English he replied, "By preaching Christ in the crucified style." That is the one supreme business of missions, "Preaching Christ in the crucified style,"—"Crucified and Risen;" for we believe that He is the one Hope of the world, and that the completion of His Kingdom upon the earth depends upon man's acceptance of Him as King.

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